

# PEKING REVIEW

41

October 7, 1977

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**The 28th Anniversary of the  
People's Republic of China**

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**Kampuchean Party and Government  
Delegation Visits China**

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**Chairman of the Chinese Delegation  
Huang Hua's Speech at U.N.  
General Assembly Session**

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# PEKING REVIEW

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## 28th Anniversary of Founding of People's Republic of China

**O**CTOBER 1 this year was the 28th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. It was the first National Day after the smashing of the "gang of four." Peking and other places throughout the country celebrated this red-letter day with gusto.

### National Day Reception

Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, gave a grand reception in the Great Hall of the People on the evening of September 30.

Attending the reception were Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premiers of the State Council; Wang Tung-hsing, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee; and other Party and state leaders Wei Kuo-ching, Ulanfu, Fang Yi, Chi Teng-kuei, Su Chen-hua, Wu Teh, Yu Chiu-li, Chang Ting-fa, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Hsi-lien, Keng Piao, Nieh Jung-cheng, Ni Chih-fu, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Chen Mu-hua, Kuo Mo-jo, Chen Yun, Tan Chen-lin, Teng Ying-chao, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Teh-heng, Hu Chueh-wen, Wang Chen and Ku Mu. Su Yu

and Lo Jui-ching, leading members of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and Shen Yen-ping, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, were also present on the occasion.

More than 3,000 Chinese and foreign guests attended the reception. Among the distinguished foreign guests at the main tables were: Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea; Ieng Sary, Member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in Charge of Foreign Affairs; Von Vet, Member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in Charge of Economic Affairs; Thakin Ba Thein Tin, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma; Paul Niculescu, Member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the Government; Hoang Van Hoan, Vice-

Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam; Jusuf Adjitorop, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia and leader of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia; Werner Heuler, leader of the Cadres' Delegation of the Communist Party of Germany and Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany; Otto Lang, Canadian Minister of Transport, and Mrs. Lang; Aiichiro Fujiyama, adviser to the Japan-China Cultural Exchange Association and leader of the delegation of the association; and Hisao Kuroda, Chairman of the Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) and leader of the delegation of the association.

Chairman Hua made a toast amid warm applause. (See p. 15 for full text.)

During the reception, hosts and guests chatted cordially in a friendly atmosphere; they clinked glasses time and again in celebrating the 28th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China and



紧密地团结在华主席为首的党中央周围，把毛主席开辟的无产阶级专政



Chairman Hua and other Party and state leaders and the distinguished Kampuchean guests join the Peking citizens in celebrating the National Day in Chungshan Park.

they toasted the growing revolutionary friendship and unity between the Chinese people and the people of other countries.

Other foreign guests and friends visiting Peking also attended the reception.

Also present on the occasion were experts from various countries now helping with China's socialist construction and diplomatic envoys and military attaches of foreign embassies in Peking.

Among those attending the reception were also Members and Alternate Members of the C.P.C. Central Committee, Members of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and Members of the Standing Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee who were in Peking, leading

members of the various departments under the C.P.C. Central Committee and the State Council, leading members of the general departments, services and arms and the Peking Units of the P.L.A., leading members of the Peking municipal Party committee and the Peking municipal revolutionary committee, and representatives of workers, peasants and soldiers and representatives of commercial, scientific and technological, educational, literary and art, press and publication, medical and health and sports circles.

A delegation of compatriots from all walks of life in Hongkong and Macao led by Chuang Shih-ping, noted Hongkong personage Richard Charles Lee and his wife, and representatives of Taiwan compatriots residing

abroad and overseas Chinese were also present.

### Get-Togethers

On October 1, more than 600,000 people in the capital took part in gala celebrations in six main parks.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing and the distinguished Kampuchean guests Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Von Vet watched a performance of songs, dances and other items at the concert hall in Chungshan Park.

Other Party and state leaders also joined the people of the capital in the National Day festivities.

Hsu Shih-yu, Li Teh-sheng, Peng Chung, Chao Tzu-yang



as well as patriotic personages, compatriots of Taiwan Province origin, compatriots from Hong-kong and Macao and overseas Chinese in Peking.

In the past year following the smashing of the "gang of four," the Chinese people have, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, achieved tremendous successes in all fields of endeavour and brought about profound changes. At the get-togethers in Peking, the people jubilantly hailed these victories.

### Fireworks Display

The grand celebrations in the capital culminated in a fireworks display in Tien An Men Square in the centre of the city

on the evening of October 1. The flood-lit square was a spectacular scene of jubilation with 200,000 people waving bouquets and vari-coloured ribbons and singing and dancing joyously.

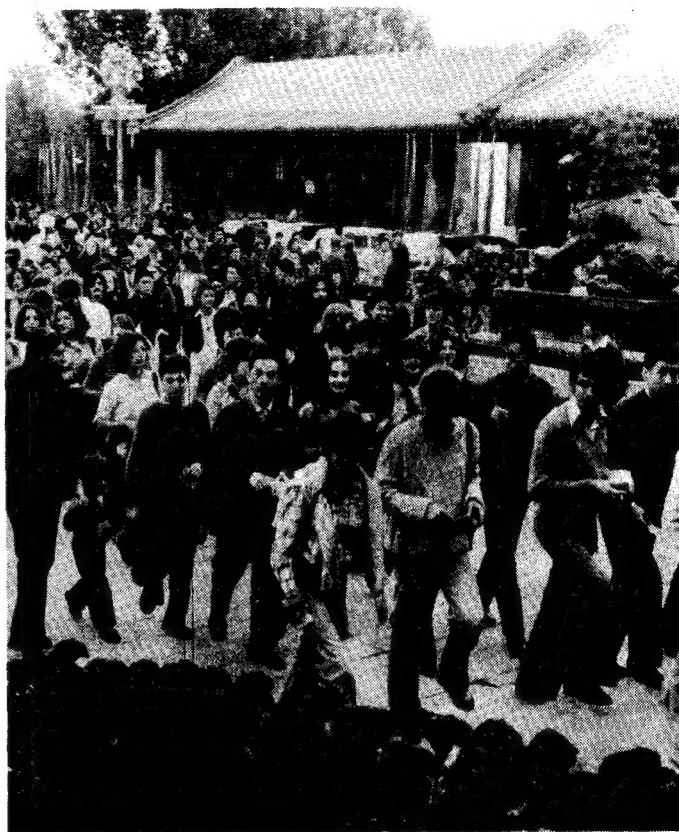
Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing together with the distinguished Kampuchean guests Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Von Vet mounted the rostrum atop Tien An Men Gate and watched the fireworks display.

Among the other distinguished foreign guests seated on the rostrum were Thakin Ba Thein Tin, Paul Niculescu, Hoang Van Hoan and Jusuf Adjitorop.

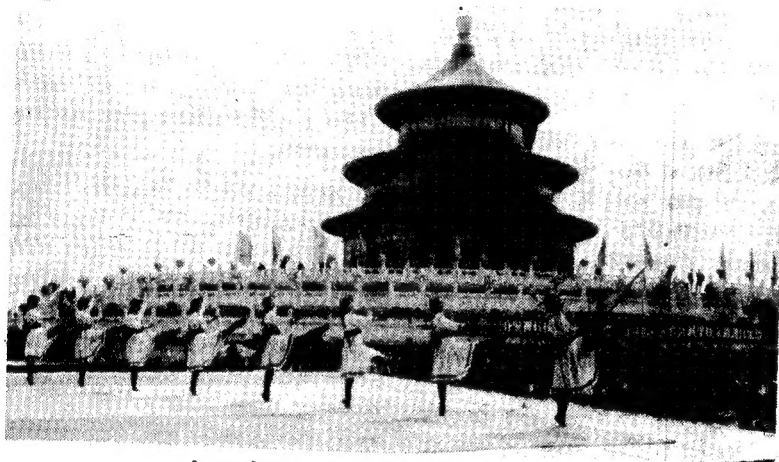
and Saifudin took part in similar celebrations together with the people of Kwangchow, Shenyang, Shanghai, Chengtu, and Urumchi respectively.

The holiday-makers in Peking were joined by foreign friends from more than 90 countries and regions in the five continents. Wherever they went, they were warmly greeted. Many of them sang and danced joyously with the people in the capital. An atmosphere of unity and friendship between the Chinese people and the people of the rest of the world prevailed in all the parks.

Taking part in the gala get-togethers were workers, suburban commune members, P.L.A. commanders and fighters, intellectuals, cadres and students



Comrades and friends from foreign countries take part in the gala celebrations.



A performance by an amateur troupe.

During the fireworks display, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing met with foreign guests separately on the rostrum and extended a

warm welcome to them on their visits to China. Among these guests were: Mohammad Toha, leading member of the Communist Party (M-L) of Bangladesh, and his wife; Ion Catri-nescu, Deputy Head of the

Organization Department of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party; Werner Heuler, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany; Canadian Minister of Transport Otto Lang and his wife; Aiiichiro Fujiyama, adviser to the Japan-China Cultural Exchange Association and leader of the delegation of the association, Hisao Kuroda, Chairman of the Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) and leader of the delegation of the association, Seimin Miyazaki, Director General of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox), Takeo Kimura, Member of the Japanese House of Rep-



Tien An Men Square on the evening of October 1.



representatives and former Minister of Construction, and friendly Japanese personage Kinkazu Saionji and his wife; Mrs. Lois Wheeler Snow, widow of the late noted American writer Edgar Snow, and friendly American personage William H. Hinton; British writer Han Suyin; Dr. Manfred Woerner, Chairman of the Defence Committee of the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany, and his wife; former U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers and his wife; and Ugo La Malfa, Chairman of the

Republican Party of Italy and former Deputy Prime Minister.

Other Party and state leaders were also present at the fireworks display.

As the people in the square sang and danced, fireworks of different colours and patterns rose to the night sky, drawing round after round of cheers from the crowds.

At the end of the fireworks display, Chairman Hua and other central leading comrades went among the distinguished

foreign guests and thanked them for their presence.

Foreign diplomats and their families and foreign experts, students and trainees in Peking were also invited to watch the fireworks display.

Also invited were Taiwan compatriots residing abroad, compatriots from Hongkong and Macao, overseas Chinese and Chinese of foreign citizenship who had come to take part in the National Day celebrations and visit relatives and tour the country.

## Kampuchean Party and Government Delegation Visits China

**T**HE Delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, arrived in Peking on September 28 on an official friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government.

That afternoon, over 100,000 people in the capital gathered at the airport, in Tien An Men Square and before the Guest House to give a big, warm welcome to the friendly envoys of the Kampuchean people with songs and dances.

When Comrade Pol Pot and the other distinguished Kampuchean guests alighted from the

plane, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, and Comrades Teng Hsiao-ping and Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairmen of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premiers of the State Council, stepped forward to warmly shake hands with and embrace them.

Also at the airport to greet the guests were Chi Teng-kuei, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Wu Teh, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Keng Piao, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the

C.P.C. Central Committee; Fang Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of China; Chen Mu-hua, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries; and responsible members of the departments concerned.

In the evening, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council gave a grand banquet warmly welcoming the Kampuchean Party and Government Delegation. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng presided over the banquet. Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing of the C.P.C. Central Committee were also present. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and Comrade Pol Pot made warm speeches at the



Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and Comrade Pol Pot at the airport.

the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in Charge of Foreign Affairs; Von Vet, Member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in Charge of Economic Affairs; Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, Keng Piao and others.

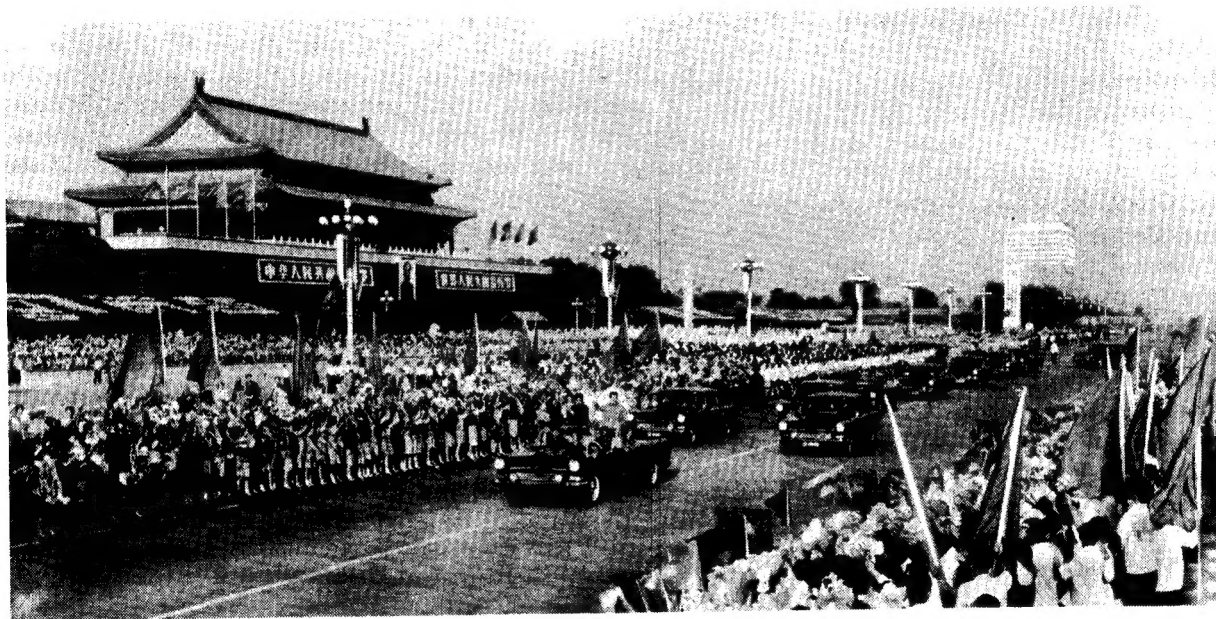
Accompanied by Comrade Wang Tung-hsing, Comrade Pol Pot and the other

banquet. (For full texts of their speeches see pp. 20 and 22.)

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and Comrade Pol Pot held talks in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. Taking

part in the talks were Comrades Ieng Sary, Member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Deputy Prime Minister of

members of the delegation on September 29 went to the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall to pay their respects to the remains of Chairman Mao Tsetung. Comrade Pol Pot and Comrades Ieng



Comrade Pol Pot accompanied by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng receives a rousing welcome in Tien An Men Square.

Sary and Von Vet stood in silent tribute before the statue of Chairman Mao after presenting a wreath in the name of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. The silk ribbon on the wreath was inscribed: "To Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great, heroic and staunch Chinese Communist fighter, great, outstanding fighter for proletarian internationalism, great teacher of Marxism-Leninism of our time and lofty and great comrade-in-arms of the Kampuchean people."

On September 30, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Teng Ying-chao went to the Guest House to pay a call on Comrade Pol Pot and other Kampuchean comrades.

Secretary Pol Pot on the evening of October 2 gave a grand farewell banquet which was attended by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li



Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing with Secretary Pol Pot on the rostrum atop the Tien An Men Gate to watch the fireworks.

Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing, and others. Comrade Pol Pot and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng spoke at the banquet which was filled with fraternal friendship.

At a press conference he held in Peking that day, Comrade Pol Pot described the brilliant militant course of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and

the great achievements scored by the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Party.

The Kampuchean Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Pol Pot successfully concluded its official friendly visit to China and left



Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and Comrade Pol Pot holding talks.

Peking on October 4 to visit the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng,  
Vice-Chairmen Teng Hsiao-ping

and Li Hsien-nien and other leaders as well as thousands of people were at the airport to bid farewell to the distinguished Kampuchean guests.

## **17th Anniversary of Founding of Communist Party of Kampuchea Warmly Greeted**

ON September 30, the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, Comrade Keng Piao, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, extended on behalf of the C.P.C. Central Committee warm congratulations to Comrade Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, and presented him with the C.P.C. Central Committee's September 29 message of greetings to the C.P.K. Central Committee. The message reads:

"On the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the founding of the glorious Communist Party of Kampuchea, we wish to extend, on behalf of all members of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people, our warmest fraternal greetings to you and, through you, to all members of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the heroic Kampuchean people.

"The Communist Party of Kampuchea is a Marxist-Leninist Party which has grown up and expanded in the revolutionary storm, and is the force at

the core leading the revolutionary cause in Kampuchea. Since the very day of its founding, the Communist Party of Kampuchea has been holding high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, upholding independence and self-reliance, constantly summing up experiences, and integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution in its own country. It has laid down a correct revolutionary line and led the revolutionary cause of Kampuchea from victory to victory.

"During the period of the national-democratic revolution, the Communist Party of Kampuchea went deep among the masses of people and to the countryside, set up revolutionary base areas and persisted in taking the road of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing power by armed force, thereby enabling the people's revolutionary forces to continuously develop and expand. Especially in the people's national-liberation war lasting five years and one month, the heroic Kampuchean people under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, defying brute force and fighting valiantly and skilfully,

finally defeated the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackey, the traitorous Lon Nol clique, and set up the people's regime of Democratic Kampuchea following the brilliant victory of the complete liberation of the motherland on April 17, 1975. The victory of the Kampuchean people has enriched the concept of people's war with fresh experience and has set a splendid example for the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over that the people of a small country can certainly defeat big-power aggression so long as they dare to rise in struggle and take up arms and hold the destiny of their country in their own hands.

"Since the Kampuchean revolution entered the new historical period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the Communist Party of Kampuchea has continued to lead the Kampuchean people in carrying forward the revolutionary tradition and upholding independence and self-reliance, in speedily healing the wounds of war and winning great victories in cleaning up the mire left by the old society, rehabilitating and developing the national economy, improving the people's livelihood, defending national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and smashing sabotage and subversion by enemies both at home and abroad.

"In international affairs, the Communist Party of Kampuchea adheres to proletarian internationalism, fights in unity with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and the people of third world countries, and

persists in opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and hegemonism, thus continuously making new contributions to the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat. The newly emerging Democratic Kampuchea is standing with a brand-new look in the East.

"In the protracted revolutionary struggle, the two Parties and two peoples of China and Kampuchea, who are close and brotherly comrades-in-arms, have always supported and encouraged each other. Our friendly relations are established on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and are able to stand all tests. We, the Communist Party of China, are

determined to hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao Tsetung, adhere to proletarian internationalism and resolutely support the revolutionary struggle of the Kampuchean people. We are convinced that the great revolutionary friendship and militant unity between our two Parties and two peoples will surely be further consolidated and developed in the common struggle in the days to come.

"We heartily wish the Kampuchean people, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea headed by Comrade Pol Pot, new and still greater successes in the revolutionary cause in the future."

## Chairman Hua Meets Niculescu

CHAIRMAN Hua on September 29 met with the Romanian People's Friendship Delegation headed by Paul Niculescu, Member of the Executive Polit-

ical Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the Government. They had a cordial conversation.

### Vice-Premiers Teng and Li Meet Foreign Guests

On September 24, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien met Eva Gredal, Minister for Social Affairs of Denmark.

On September 25, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping met Manfred Woerner, Chairman of the Defence Committee of the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany, and his party.

On September 26, Vice-Premier Teng met John Bertram

Adams, Director-General of the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN), Mrs. Adams and M.C. Crowley-Milling, Director of the CERN Accelerators Division.

On September 26, Vice-Premier Teng met the American mathematician Professor Chen Sheng-shen.

On September 27, Vice-Premier Teng met former Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in China George H.W. Bush, Mrs. Bush and their party.

On September 28, Vice-Premier Teng met with the Delegation of the Armed Forces of the Philippines led by General Remeo C. Espino, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

On September 28, Vice-Premier Li met Takeo Kimura, Member of the Japanese House of Representatives and former Minister of Construction, and his daughter Seiko Kimura.

On September 29, Vice-Premier Teng met and feted the British writer Madame Han Suyin. Teng Ying-chao, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, was present on the occasion.

On September 29, Vice-Premier Li met with the visiting Japanese friends. They were: the Delegation of the Japan-China Cultural Exchange Association with Aiichiro Fujiyama as leader, Junji Kinoshita as deputy leader and Norio Shirato as secretary-general; the Delegation of the Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) with Hisao Kuroda as leader, Seimin Miyazaki as deputy leader and Tomio Narasaki as secretary-general; and friendly Japanese personage Kinkazu Saionji and his wife.

On September 29, Vice-Premier Li met with the Romanian News Agency (Agerpres) Delegation led by Ion Cumpanasu, director of the agency.

On September 30, Vice-Premier Li met William P. Rogers, former U.S. Secretary of State, Mrs. Rogers and their party.



## **Delegation of National People's Congress Visits New Zealand**

The Delegation of the National People's Congress of China, with Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Ulanfu as its leader and Secretary-General of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Chi Peng-fei as its deputy leader, visited New Zealand from September 20 to 27.

Members of the delegation had extensive contacts with government officials and people of various walks of life of New Zealand. They paid a courtesy call on Governor-General Denis Blundell and Acting Speaker of the Parliament W. F. Birch as well as Wallace Rowling, former Prime Minister and leader of the Labour Party.

The delegation toured Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and other cities in the North and South Islands. It visited a dairy factory, an agricultural research centre, a stock-breeding centre, the geothermal area and a geothermal power station. It was warmly welcomed everywhere.

## **Chinese Goodwill Military Delegation Visits France And Romania**

The Chinese Goodwill Military Delegation led by Yang Cheng-wu, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, returned to Peking on September 30 after concluding its visits to France and Romania.

**In France:** From September 15 to 25, members of the delegation made extensive contacts

with members of the French Government and military circles. Prime Minister Raymond Barre received them. They also met Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud and Defence Minister Yvon Bourges.

Delegation leader Yang Cheng-wu held talks in Paris with General Guy Mery, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of France.

The delegation visited army units and military bases of the French ground, naval and air forces.

Speaking at the farewell banquet on September 24, Yang Cheng-wu expressed his thanks to General Mery and to officers and men of the French armed forces for their hospitality. He said that the delegation's visit "has promoted our mutual understanding and friendship. We have seen the measures the French Government and the French armed forces take to defend the independence and sovereignty of their country and the means they possess towards this end."

"Further development of the relations between the peoples and armies of the two countries," he added, "is our common aspiration; it accords with the interests of our two peoples and has broad prospects."

**In Romania:** The delegation's visit was from September 25 to 28.

On September 27, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, received the Goodwill Military Delegation led by Yang Cheng-wu, Member of the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of China and Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Comrade Ceausescu expressed great pleasure at the delegation's visit and emphasized the importance of further consolidating and developing the friendship and co-operation between the two Parties, countries, peoples and armies. Earlier, the Romanian Ministry of National Defence gave a banquet in honour of the delegation.

Colonel General Ion Coman, Member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and Minister of National Defence, met all members of the delegation and gave a banquet in their honour. In his speech at the banquet, Comrade Coman said that with the same revolutionary ideals, the peoples and armies of Romania and China are striving for socialist construction, strengthening national defence, defending the fruits of revolution and construction and guarding against outside aggression. The Romanian and Chinese peoples have close ties and no one can undermine their friendship.

Comrade Yang Cheng-wu in his speech said that the Chinese Goodwill Military Delegation was accorded a warm and friendly reception by the Romanian comrades as soon as it reached fraternal Romania. He said: Comrade Coman exchanged views on questions of mutual interest with our delegation when he received us earlier today. This meeting has helped promote the mutual understanding and friendship existing between the peoples and armies of the two countries.

# Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's Toast At National Day Reception

Distinguished Guests, Friends and Comrades:

It is with elation and great joy that we celebrate today the 28th anniversary of the birth of the People's Republic of China. On this glorious occasion, I wish to extend warm congratulations and cordial greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council to the people of all nationalities in our country working on all fronts of endeavour, to the workers, peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, cadres and intellectuals as well as all patriotic personages.

Together with us here on this happy occasion are many friends and comrades from the five continents and friends and comrades who are helping us with our construction work. We are particularly honoured that the comrades on the Delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea led by Comrade Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, are with us in celebrating the festival. We express our warm welcome to the distinguished Kampuchean guests and to all the other distinguished foreign guests present at this reception.

Our great leader Chairman Mao led our Party, army and people in establishing our People's Republic. In the past 28 years, we have achieved great successes in our socialist revolution and socialist construction and transformed old China, which was a poor and backward semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, into a socialist New China with the beginnings of prosperity. Every success our people have achieved should be attributed to the wise leadership of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, to invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and to his proletarian revolutionary line.

October 1 this year is the first National Day after we smashed the anti-Party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. At this time a year ago, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung, our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress had departed from us. Our Party and state were in the midst of a historic, decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and our people were undergoing a most rigorous test. The result of that struggle was the proletariat and the people emerged victorious. Our Party deserves to be called a great, glorious and correct Party founded by Chairman Mao, our army deserves to be called a heroic army nurtured by him, and our people deserve to be called a great people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought.

Tremendous and profound changes have taken place in our domestic situation since the "gang of four" was smashed. A new period of development in our socialist revolution and socialist construction has been ushered in. The people throughout the country are working hard to implement the line of the 11th National Congress of the Party and fulfil the fighting tasks in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land.

The great political revolution to thoroughly expose and criticize the "gang of four" continues to develop triumphantly on all fronts. The political awareness of the people of all nationalities in China has never been higher, their enthusiasm for socialism has risen steadily, and their revolutionary unity has been further strengthened. **"A political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness"** has begun to

appear before us. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is more consolidated than ever.

A new leap forward in China's national economy is taking shape. Because we have taken a series of effective measures to overcome the difficulties brought on by the "gang of four," it is expected that the national economic plan for 1977 will be successfully fulfilled or overfulfilled.

In science and technology, and in education, culture and public health, the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" is being eliminated, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses of intellectuals is being brought into fuller play, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is being implemented in a comprehensive and correct way.

The P.L.A. commanders and fighters are redoubling their efforts to revolutionize and modernize the army and stepping up preparations against war, and they have played a greater role as the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. New and important achievements have also been made in building up the national defence and the militia.

The united front, which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and includes the patriotic democratic parties, democratic personages, compatriots in Taiwan, compatriots in Hongkong and Macao and overseas Chinese, is developing and growing in strength.

All this convincingly demonstrates that the target set by the Party Central Committee to achieve initial success this year in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land can be met without fail, and that the situation is even better than anticipated. The goal of achieving marked success within three years also will certainly be realized. We have the resolve and the confidence to turn China into a great, powerful and modern socialist country by the end of this century.

We are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great cause of unifying the motherland.

The international situation at present is excellent, too. Our country enjoys an ever higher international prestige, and we have friends all over the world. In all our external work, we continue to firmly implement the line, principles and policies laid down by Chairman Mao, and further promote the development of the international situation in a direction favourable to the people of China and the world. We firmly support the people of the world in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, firmly support the people of all countries in opposing the superpowers' policies of aggression and war and firmly support all revolutionary and progressive causes. We express our sincere thanks to the fraternal socialist countries, to the third world countries and other friendly countries and to the people of the whole world for the support they have given us.

We are determined to hold high for ever the great banner of Chairman Mao, carry out his behests, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, resolutely implement the line of the 11th National Congress of the Party and carry through to the end our proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao. This is the unshakable resolve of our entire Party, army and people. There will still be difficulties of all kinds on our road of advance, but we are convinced that no difficulties whatsoever can stop the Chinese people from marching forward towards our set goal, for we have a correct line, a great Party, a great army and a great people fighting in unity and we enjoy extensive international support.

Our cause must win. Our cause will unquestionably be victorious.

Now I propose a toast

to the 28th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China,

to the great unity of the people of all nationalities throughout our country,

to the great unity of the people of the world,

to the health of Comrade Pol Pot,

to the health of all our distinguished guests, friends and comrades present!

# Strive to Build a Powerful and Modern Socialist Country

National Day editorial by "Renmin Ribao,"  
"Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

THE People's Republic of China founded by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao has been advancing along the road of socialism for 28 years.

As we celebrate the first National Day after the smashing of the "gang of four," we are happy to see that our motherland is bathed in brilliant sunlight and our people in their hundreds of millions are filled with joy. We fully realize how rapid and profound are the changes that have taken place in the past year. Holding aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, our wise leader Chairman Hua led the whole Party in smashing the "gang of four" and, immediately after this, made and put into effect the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land, thereby ushering in a new phase in China's socialist revolution and construction. The oppressive atmosphere created by the "gang of four," in which "ten thousand horses stand mute," has been swept away and the people, now in high spirits, are bestirring themselves anew. The confusion caused by the "gang of four" on questions of right and wrong in line and ideology is being cleared up and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies are being carried out comprehensively and correctly. A vigorous scene prevails in all fields of work. The situation in agricultural production is fine; reports of fresh successes in industry and trans-

portation keep pouring in; state revenue has increased by a fairly big margin; market supplies have increased and prices are stable. A new leap forward in the national economy is taking shape. The mass movements to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture are advancing vigorously on an unprecedented scale. The revolutionary socialist emulation drive is going ahead full steam. The great revolutionary mass movement to modernize science and technology is rapidly gaining momentum. The people of all nationalities in our country, united as never before, are determined to make greater contributions to the construction of our great motherland.

Chairman Hua has pointed out: "Holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhering to the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism, grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, continuing the revolution and striving to build China into a powerful and modern socialist country — this is the line of the 11th National Congress of the Party." This line embodies Chairman Mao's behests and represents the basic interests and common aspiration of the people of the whole country. It is the beacon for the new period of development in our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in the coun-

try should conscientiously study the documents of the 11th National Congress of the Party, firmly implement its line, simultaneously carry out the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, work for the fulfilment of the eight fighting tasks put forward by the 11th National Congress of the Party and for the achievement of initial success in the first year and marked success within three years in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, and strive to build China into a powerful and modern socialist country before the end of this century.

Our goals are lofty, but our tasks are arduous and time is pressing. We should realize that whether from the viewpoint of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism or from the viewpoint of world class struggle, we must speed up construction and run our country well. On all work fronts we must race against time and go all out to fulfil and surpass production plans not only quantitatively but, more important, qualitatively so as to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. In carrying out this task, we must first of all firmly grasp and deepen the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" by mobilizing the masses more fully to criticize the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and its manifestations in various fields, not only in the sphere of political and organizational line, but also on the theoretical plane, so as to thoroughly eradicate its evil effects and poisonous influence. All trades and professions should sum up both positive and negative experience, work out specific policies, methods and systems, carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in every respect and bring all positive factors into full play in order to build our motherland at high speed.

To accomplish the arduous task of modernizing our agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology, we must carry forward the fine tradition of hard struggle which Chairman Mao fostered in our Party. Revolutionary enthusiasm plus death-defying spirit are the class essence of the proletariat and other labouring people of China and an important weapon with which we overcome diffi-

culties and attain our revolutionary goals in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Chairman Mao always taught us: **"We should maintain the same vigour, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of the revolutionary wars and carry our revolutionary work through to the end."** The history of our revolution has fully proved that with this death-defying spirit we can take all strongholds by storm. Comrades working on all fronts should act like the "Iron Man" Comrade Wang Chin-hsi and the people's good cadre Comrade Chiao Yu-lu, display the revolutionary spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people; there must be less empty talk and more hard work, and everyone should work hard and in a down-to-earth way, never giving up until the goal is reached. We must implement the mass line, do things consciously in accordance with materialist dialectics and combine soaring revolutionary enthusiasm with a strict scientific approach. The Chinese people are industrious and courageous and have shown tremendous enthusiasm for socialism in the struggle to eliminate the "four pests." Such political enthusiasm should be guided in an organized way to energetically building socialism. Leading comrades of the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industries recently led office cadres to the front line of the three great revolutionary movements. They share weal and woe with the masses, listen to their opinions, conduct investigations and study and help solve problems. This has fired the masses with tremendous revolutionary enthusiasm and helped the comrades sum up new experience, and is welcomed and praised by the workers and staff. Such spirit and style of work should be advocated and carried forward. In the great struggle to bring about great order across the land by grasping the key link of class struggle, we must fully revive and carry forward the fine traditions and style of work fostered by Chairman Mao in our Party.

The arduous task of building a powerful and modern socialist country demands that we study with a will and strive to become both red and expert. We must make a systematic study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and works by Chairman Mao, and have a com-



prehensive and accurate grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought as a system and, in particular, study well Chairman Mao's great theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so as to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line still better. We must also study science conscientiously, learn technique and acquire vocational proficiency and grasp the laws governing these matters. There are many questions involved in socialist construction, particularly the four modernizations, which we still do not fully understand, and in many respects we are still in the realm of necessity. We must have the spirit of "storming strongholds," fear no hardship, dare to make innovations, seize the fortresses of the four modernizations one by one, and make a leap forward into the realm of freedom. Both the Taching Oilfield and the Tachai Production Brigade have accumulated rich experience and many advanced units in the country have achieved considerable success. We must learn with an open mind from the good experience, good style of work and good methods of other provinces, municipalities, regions and units. We are relatively backward in natural science and we must learn what is advanced in foreign countries. Only when we are good at learning from the advanced can we catch up with and surpass them and make greater progress in developing science and technology along our own road. We must enthusiastically and honestly learn what we do not know. If we dig into the matter for some months, for a year or two, for three or five years, we will surely master it. Cadres at all levels, particularly leading cadres, must study well. Chairman Mao pointed out more than 20 years ago: **"We are now confronted with new problems, socialist industrialization, socialist transformation, a new defence system and other new fields of work. It is our task to adapt ourselves to this new situation, dig into our jobs and become experts. It is therefore necessary to educate those who have failed to dig into their jobs and remained on the surface, so that they will all turn into experts."** We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching, and work hard to make ourselves proficient and expert on the basis of a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism. This will greatly raise our working ability and consequently push forward our work in all fields at a greater speed.

We should be fully aware that building China into a powerful and modern socialist country is an arduous task, that the road is long and that the difficulties confronting us are numerous. But we have extremely favourable conditions. Chairman Mao taught us: **"Society's wealth is created by workers, peasants and working intellectuals. Provided they take their destiny into their own hands, provided they have a Marxist-Leninist line and energetically tackle problems instead of evading them, they can overcome any difficulty on earth."** We have the correct leadership of Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee, the revolutionary line Chairman Mao formulated, the superiority of the socialist system and 800 million people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. Provided we work hard and fight on tenaciously, it is certain that we can overcome all difficulties and accomplish the glorious historic mission that Chairman Mao bequeathed to us.

In joyously celebrating our National Day, we express deep concern for our compatriots in Taiwan Province. We are determined to liberate Taiwan, which is the sacred territory of our motherland, and accomplish the great cause of unifying our motherland.

The international situation today is excellent. The two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are beset with difficulties at home and abroad and things are getting tougher for them. We are determined to follow Chairman Mao's strategic thesis differentiating the three worlds, firmly carry out his revolutionary line in foreign affairs and continue to promote the development of the international situation in a direction favourable to the people of China and the rest of the world.

Let us hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and, united as one under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and under the guidance of the line of the 11th National Congress of the Party, work hard, run the affairs in China well and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity!

(October 1)

## **Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's Speech**

Respected Comrade Pol Pot,

Respected Comrades of the Kampuchean Party  
and Government Delegation,

Comrades and Friends,

It gives us particular joy and warmth that, for the first time, Comrade Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, has come today at the head of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea on an official friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government. Your visit is a major event in the relations between our two Parties and countries. On behalf of the Communist Party, the Government and the people of China, I wish to extend to you our warm welcome and comradely salute.

You have come on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the birth of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and on the eve of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. We are exceptionally happy that long-standing comrades-in-arms of our two countries will together celebrate these two glorious festivals.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea headed by Comrade Pol Pot is a staunch Marxist-Leninist Party. Born amidst the flames of revolutionary struggle, it has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Kampuchean revolution, stood the rigorous test of the revolutionary war and become the force at the core leading the Kampuchean people in seizing victory in their revolution. It enjoys high prestige among the Kampuchean people.

Under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean

people and revolutionary army fought heroically, completely destroyed the reactionary rule of the traitorous Lon Nol clique and drove U.S. imperialism out of Kampuchea by waging a people's war, thus setting up the first proletarian state power in Kampuchean history, in which the people have become masters of their own destiny. Thereupon the Kampuchean people freed themselves from the fate of being oppressed and exploited by imperialism and feudalism. This great victory not only advanced the Kampuchean revolution to a new historical stage but also made a significant contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations and people the world over.

The heroic Kampuchean people are not only good at destroying the old world but also good at building a new one. Since liberation, they have carried forward their dauntless revolutionary spirit and their fine tradition of hard struggle, adhered to the principles of independence and self-reliance and achieved important successes in their struggle to safeguard their country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, smash the subversive and disruptive schemes of enemies at home and abroad, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and defend their revolutionary gains. At the same time, remarkable progress has been made in healing the wounds of war and rehabilitating and developing the national economy. In particular, by relying on their own efforts and working hard and perseveringly, they succeeded, in the short span of less than two years, in developing agricultural production, building farmlands and water conservancy projects and solving the food problem. This is an achievement of great importance. The Kampuchean Government and people have resolutely opposed imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and firmly supported the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people, thus making positive contributions to the just struggle of the

people of the world, those of the third world countries in particular. As your brothers and comrades-in-arms, the Chinese people are overjoyed at your brilliant victories.

The fundamental reason why the Kampuchean people could win these victories is that they have a staunch Marxist-Leninist Party and a correct line. The practice of the Kampuchean people's revolutionary struggle eloquently proves that any country, whether big or small, can defeat big-power aggression, win liberation and do a good job of national reconstruction step by step if only it relies on the masses, upholds the principles of independence and self-reliance, persists in armed struggle and makes constant progress while summing up its experience. We sincerely hope and believe that, under the leadership of the Kampuchean Communist Party and Government, the Kampuchean people will in future achieve new and still greater successes in their socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Comrades and friends,

China and Kampuchea are both developing socialist countries belonging to the third world. They always stand together with the other third world countries and people in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. Our two Parties, two countries and two peoples have forged a profound revolutionary friendship and militant unity in their protracted struggles. This friendship and this unity are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We always sympathize with, encourage and support each other. When our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou were still with us, they showed close concern for the development of the Kampuchean people's revolutionary struggle and the consolidation of Sino-Kampuchean friendship. We Chinese people always consider the Kampuchean people's revolutionary struggle as a powerful support for us. We will never forget that at the grave moment when we lost our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, the Kampuchean Party and people expressed their great sympathy, partook our grief and joined in

our mourning. Nor will we forget that, when we won the great victory of smashing the anti-Party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, the Kampuchean Party and people expressed their sincere support and warm congratulations and joined us in celebrating the victory. When the 11th Congress of our Party was held, you sent us a message of warm congratulations. To all this, we would like to express once again our deep thanks. The Chinese and Kampuchean peoples are close comrades-in-arms and brothers sharing weal and woe, and our friendship has stood the test. We are sure that the current visit to China by the Kampuchean Party and Government Delegation will advance the friendly relations and co-operation between our two Parties and countries to a new stage and that our revolutionary friendship and militant unity will grow in strength and develop continuously.

Comrades and friends,

At present, the international situation is excellent. The revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat, the liberation struggles of the oppressed people and nations and the revolutionary mass movements in many countries are continuing to forge ahead. The numerous third world countries are playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. The superpowers have further revealed their aggressive and expansionist features. Facts fully prove that the international situation is favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to the superpowers.

But while the factors for revolution continue to grow, those for war are also growing visibly. Both superpowers want to dominate the world, and they contend with each other everywhere. Their rivalry will lead to a conflagration some day. This is independent of man's will. So long as the people of all countries heighten their vigilance and wage a united struggle, they may be able to upset the superpowers' war plans and deployments and put off the outbreak of a war, and they will find themselves in a favourable position of preparedness in case the superpowers do unleash a world war. It is our firm conviction that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the

making of world history." Victory unquestionably belongs to the people of the world.

Comrades and friends,

China is now at an important juncture in history when we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future. Guided by the line of the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China and holding aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, our whole Party, whole army and people of various nationalities are working hard to implement the Party Central Committee's strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land. In international affairs, we adhere to Chairman Mao's strategic concept of the differentiation of the three worlds, uphold proletarian internationalism and firmly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs in continuing to promote the development of the international situation in a direction favourable to the Chinese people and the people of the world and carrying through to the end the struggle against superpower hegemonism. True, we will face many more difficulties. But we will certainly be able to continue to advance victoriously our

country's cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In conclusion, we wish the Kampuchean Party and Government Delegation led by Comrade Pol Pot a completely successful visit in China.

I wish to propose a toast

to the militant friendship and revolutionary unity of the Parties, countries and peoples of China and Kampuchea,

to the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea,

to the prosperity of Democratic Kampuchea,

to the health and long life of Comrade Pol Pot,

to the health of all the other comrades on the Kampuchean Party and Government Delegation,

to the health of the heads of diplomatic missions and their wives present, and

to the health of all comrades and friends present here!

## Secretary Pol Pot's Speech

Respected and Beloved Chairman Hua Kuo-feng,

Respected and Beloved Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying,

Respected and Beloved Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping,

Respected and Beloved Vice-Chairman Li Hsien-nien,

Respected and Beloved Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing,

Other Respected Chinese Leading Comrades,

Your Excellencies, Respected Heads of Diplomatic Missions and Mesdames,

Dear Comrades,

It is with infinite pleasure that we of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea have come to Peking, the great capital of the great and glorious People's Republic of China, in response to the kind, revolutionary, fraternal invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China.

In the name of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, we of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Kam-

puchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea wish to extend our high revolutionary fraternal greetings and express our warmest and deepest revolutionary friendship to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, to the Chinese Communist Party, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the fraternal Chinese people.

We are particularly elated and rejoiced by the fact that our delegation, from the moment of arrival in your capital Peking, has been immersed in a rousing, joyful and warm atmosphere and accorded the warmest and most cordial kinsmanlike welcome and reception by Comrade Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Comrade Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping, Comrade Vice-Chairman Li Hsien-nien and many other leading Chinese comrades as well as numerous Chinese comrades-in-arms and Chinese people. This is a great honour given through our delegation to the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government. We consider this reception and welcome accorded to us by comrades as a vivid testimony of the great, unbreakable and everlasting militant solidarity and revolutionary friendship between our two Parties, our two peoples and our two governments. For this, our delegation expresses its heartiest and deepest gratitude.

Tonight, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China give in honour of our Delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea this most sumptuous, warm and cordial banquet. The speech full of warm and profound sentiments of revolutionary fraternal friendship just made by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng is a great encouragement to us and also a powerful support to our revolution and our people. We express to you our heartfelt thanks.

Comrades and friends,

We Kampuchean people have always followed with sustained interest the efforts made by the fraternal Chinese people in their socialist

revolution and socialist construction following Chairman Mao Tsetung's brilliant line under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. After the passing away of Chairman Mao Tsetung and in a situation in which the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have won the great victory of smashing the anti-Party "gang of four," there was held under the direction of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, which concluded its work with great success in all fields while holding high the great revolutionary banner of Chairman Mao.

At the same time, we are particularly happy to see that Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, with his noble revolutionary qualities, was elected by the congress to the high office of Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in succession to Chairman Mao Tsetung, in conformity with Chairman Mao's noble behest and with the strong desire of the Chinese Communist Party, the army and the entire people. Chairman Hua, who had the full confidence of Chairman Mao, is his worthy successor and the wise leader enjoying the greatest trust of the Chinese Party, the army and the 800 million Chinese people. We extend to him once again our sincere and warm congratulations.

Together with the fraternal Chinese Party, army and people, we particularly rejoice at the great victories the Chinese comrades have scored in all fields over the past year. The Chinese comrades, showing lofty revolutionary heroism and holding high the great red banner of Chairman Mao, turned their deep grief upon the passing of their great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and that of Comrade Chou En-lai, Comrade Chu Teh and other leading comrades into an immense strength of the whole nation and people, which overcame the big earthquakes, serious droughts and other serious natural calamities and other great difficulties and seized great and admirable victories.

We are also very glad to see that, led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and holding high the fighting banner,



the Chinese Party and army and the entire fraternal Chinese people thoroughly smashed the sinister conspiratorial activities of the "gang of four." This great victory brought about an excellent situation in China. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua, the whole nation, the whole people and the whole army of your country, full of revolutionary optimism and united as one, are adhering to Chairman Mao's glorious line and striving for the fulfilment of the tasks of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

We are happy to see that in a situation in which all the active forces of the 800 million fraternal Chinese people were brought into play and under the leadership of Chairman Hua and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Second National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, the National Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry and other great conferences were successfully held, which gave a vigorous impetus to the proud and orderly march of the 800 million Chinese people, who are united as one and filled with warm revolutionary optimism.

In this excellent situation, the publication and wide distribution of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* was a major political event for the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world.

We are glad that while the 800 million great Chinese people were consolidating and strengthening their unity and fighting actively on all fronts of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was held with all-round and great success, and particularly the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was crowned with great victory. This was a momentous victory not only in the history of the Chinese Communist Party but also a great victory for the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the revolutionary people of the world.

It was in this excellent situation that the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall was completed and has opened its doors for the Chinese people

and their friends around the world to come to pay respects to the remains of Chairman Mao and extend their revolutionary homage, with full confidence in the great Chinese revolution and the world revolutionary movement.

We feel particularly happy that the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held high the great banner of Chairman Mao and, after the smashing of the "gang of four," defined more explicitly the task of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, namely, "persevering in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, in the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." At the same time, "it is necessary to turn China into a powerful socialist country with modernized agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of this century, so that economically China may advance to the forefront in the world."

We firmly believe that the 800 million fraternal Chinese people will fulfil this lofty revolutionary task because:

- the great revolutionary mass movements are in full swing in all fields, in particular those inspired by Tachai and Taching,

- their advance is always illuminated by the great banner of Chairman Mao,

- they are guided by the wise leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Hua,

- the 35 million Party members are animated with a highly militant spirit,

- they have the heroic People's Liberation Army,

- they have all the material conditions as the basis.

We are most happy to note that the international standing and prestige of the People's Republic of China are ever rising. This is because the Chinese Communist Party and the

People's Republic of China uphold Marxism-Leninism, genuine proletarian internationalism and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Marxist-Leninist Parties, the revolutionary people and the oppressed people the world over and the third world people as well as friends, far and near, from the five continents all welcome, respect and praise this stand and political line of the Chinese Party and Government.

Comrades and friends,

All the great victories won in the Chinese revolution from one stage to another are due to the immense merits of the Chinese people's great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung. In the sphere of the new-democratic revolution, Chairman Mao summarized valuable experiences and led the Chinese people in seizing the great victory of liberating the whole of China and founding the great and glorious People's Republic of China. This brought about an earth-shaking change in the situation in Asia and the world as a whole, and particularly, it constituted a great encouragement and spur to the revolutionary movement for national and people's liberation of the oppressed people the world over. Following Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, Chairman Mao Tsetung and his thought have triumphantly stood the test of successive revolutionary storms and have become a brilliant beacon illuminating the path of the revolution of national and people's liberation all over the world. More precisely, it is the most effective and sharp ideological and political weapon which infallibly guides our struggle to victory.

In the concrete revolutionary struggle of our country, we creatively and successfully applied Mao Tsetung Thought—from the time we had only empty hands down to April 17, 1975 when we thoroughly defeated U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and totally liberated Kampuchea and its people, and when the workers and peasants took over political power in the whole country. Our people and the revolutionary people of the world deeply believe that Mao Tsetung Thought is always efficacious, sharp and victorious. It consists mainly of teachings on building the Party into a solid leading core, on the establishment of a powerful national united front, on the building of a heroic

revolutionary army as well as those on the analysis of the classes in society, on contradiction, on practice, on the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas, on the role of the countryside and cities in the revolutionary struggle, on revolutionary violence, on the strategy and tactics of people's war, on revolutionary culture, literature and art, etc.

Chairman Mao also made very great contributions to China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. He correctly posed the question of distinguishing the contradictions among the people from those between the people and the enemy and very correctly handled them. In the course of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao initiated in his lifetime ten struggles between the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary lines. Chairman Mao initiated the socialist revolutionary movement. In the course of the socialist education movement, especially during the deep-going Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he emphasized the necessity of holding high the banner of revolution, carrying on the class struggle and continuing the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to this line, "throughout the historical period of socialism, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle. It is necessary to persist in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." It is a most correct and excellent line for the proletariat already in power. In leading the glorious practice of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, Chairman Mao resolutely resisted and opposed the counter-revolutionary forces and forces betraying the proletarian revolution, which vainly attempted inside China and internationally to divert the revolutionary forces from the track of Marxism-Leninism. After Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, Chairman Mao made great contributions to the socialist revolution in China and the world.

As for our Kampuchean revolution, the most precious aid provided by Chairman Mao, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people has been Mao Tsetung Thought. Chair-

man Mao always personally supported and encouraged us, for which we wish to express our most profound respect to him — China's great, staunch and heroic communist fighter, great and outstanding proletarian internationalist fighter, great Marxist-Leninist teacher of the present era and the greatest comrade-in-arms of the Kampuchean people. Chairman Mao's monumental contributions to the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world are immortal!

Comrades and friends!

In recent years, the world situation has been developing in a direction more and more favourable to the people and revolution and unfavourable to imperialism and all reactionaries.

The revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people of the world, the people of the non-aligned countries and the third world, the national-liberation struggles, the struggles to safeguard independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to master their own destiny as well as the struggles to build their own countries have been conspicuously unfolded and increasingly expanding, and a momentous situation has emerged. This is a powerful tide which no force on earth can stem. This new situation heartens the people of the whole world and fills them with more confidence while further throwing the imperialists, expansionists and all types of reactionaries into panic. The people of the world, particularly the people of the non-aligned countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the people of the third world, persisting in struggle and constantly seizing victories, have turned the situation even more favourable to the revolutionary cause of the world and the national-liberation cause of the people.

Faced with this situation, the imperialists, expansionists and reactionaries of all kinds, who have suffered and are suffering massive defeats, are energetically carrying on their despicable and sinister activities in different parts of the world in an attempt to arrest the impetus of the people's struggle. They persist in their subversive activities, threats and lying propaganda campaigns in an attempt to create

in the minds of the people dependence and servility. They interfere in domestic affairs, provoke conflicts and create contradictions so as to divide the peoples' movement by diverse means and sow dissension in the ranks of the non-aligned and third world countries. But the peoples of the non-aligned and third world countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have acquired more and more experiences and become increasingly aware of the cruel, savage and obstinate nature of the imperialists, expansionists and all types of reactionaries as well as their expansionist ambitions, their aggressive motives and their perfidious and sinister manoeuvres. That's why the peoples of the world, and particularly the peoples of the non-aligned and third world countries, have not ceased to fight against them.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, who suffered cruelly from the barbarous acts of the imperialists, expansionists and reactionaries in the course of their history and who fought in concert with the oppressed and exploited peoples in the world, stand resolutely and always on the side of the oppressed peoples in the world, and especially on the side of the peoples of the non-aligned and third world countries, for the revolutionary cause of national and people's liberation and for the defence of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to decide their own destinies.

We stand firmly on the side of the Chinese people for resolving the Taiwan problem in accordance with the just position of the People's Republic of China.

We stand firmly on the side of the Korean people for the reunification of their fatherland in accordance with the correct policy advocated by President Kim Il Sung.

We stand firmly on the side of the people of East Timor for resolving the problem of East Timor in accordance with the just position of the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor (FRETILIN).

We stand firmly on the side of the Palestinian people for achieving their national rights, the right to decide their own destiny

and the right to found their own independent state on Palestinian soil. We also stand firmly on the side of the Arab peoples for the liberation of their territories occupied by the Israeli Zionists.

We stand firmly on the side of the Zimbabwean, Namibian and Azanian peoples against Vorster's barbarous colonialist regime of apartheid and against Ian Smith's racism.

We are resolutely united with all poor countries in their struggle to eliminate the economic order based on exploitation and plunder by the rich great powers and for a truly just and equitable new international economic order.

We are resolutely united with all peoples in the poor countries in the struggle to establish a new law of the sea based on equality and justice, to defend their sovereignty and maritime resources, to fix limits for their exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles and to abolish the privilege of exclusive control of the seas by the rich great powers.

We fully support the use of the weapon of oil and other raw materials in the fight against the imperialists, expansionists and other reactionaries.

We are working hard to carry out the revolution of our country well, to defend and build our country well, to improve rapidly the living standards of our people by upholding the principles of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance and surmounting all obstacles to make our modest contribution to the movement of the revolutionary struggle, to the movement of the struggle for national and people's liberation, to the movement of the struggle to defend independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all peoples in the world, particularly the people of the non-aligned and third world countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The concrete historical experiences of our revolutionary movement have taught us clearly that we must exert all our efforts and be determined to carry out the revolution in our country well, if we want to contribute positively to the movement of the revolutionary struggle in the world. Revolution cannot be exported or imported from one country to another. That

is why our people will redouble our efforts, surmount all difficulties and obstacles, promote the revolution in our country in the spirit of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance in order not to be source of worry to our friends far and near and in order to make a new and modest contribution to the revolutionary movement and the movement of the struggle of the people of the world.

Comrades and friends,

Since the complete liberation of our nation and our people on April 17, 1975, we have had to continue to fulfil our tasks in the course of the new stage of our revolution, that is, the tasks of defending the fruits of revolution, defending the worker-peasant power of our Party, defending Democratic Kampuchea and the tasks of continuing the socialist revolution and socialist construction of Kampuchea, and to do all this in conformity with the present concrete conditions in our country and our society, and by firmly adhering to the fundamental principles of independence, sovereignty, self-reliance and of taking our destiny into our own hand.

At present, the general situation of the revolution in Kampuchea is excellent, considering the fact that ours is a backward agricultural country which was just freed from the devastating war launched by the U.S. imperialists.

To defend our country, we have had to surmount numerous difficulties. We have defended with complete success the fruits of victory of the revolution, defended the worker-peasant power of our Party, safeguarded the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea within its present frontiers, and this, in total independence and sovereignty. Security in the whole of our country is perfectly assured. Foreign guests can travel there in total security day or night, and over hundreds and thousands of kilometres.

Under the feudal, capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial system of the last century or so, Kampuchea had lost much of its territories. The present reduced frontiers are the distressing results of that century. But since April 17, 1975 when our country won total and definitive

liberation, the people of Kampuchea have become true masters of their country and of their own destiny. This has been made possible after the heroic, bitter, complex and tortuous struggles waged by several generations, especially after the national and people's liberation struggle waged in the past five years against the devastating war of aggression launched by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Therefore, we, the entire Kampuchean people, must defend our existing frontiers and see to it that they will never be lost. On the other hand, we, the Kampuchean people, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army, will under no circumstances carry out aggression, provocation, interference, subversion and espionage activities against any other country, far or near. Nevertheless, we will not tolerate any aggression, provocation, interference, subversion and espionage activities by anyone against our Democratic Kampuchea and its people.

At present, we in Kampuchea have an area of 181,000 square kilometres, of which six million hectares are arable land. Our vast Tonle Sap Lake, our sea, our other lakes and rivers abound in aquatic resources. Our dense forests, soil and sub-soil have rich natural resources. Inhabiting this land are only 8 million Kampuchean people. In terms of the cultivated land or that used for orchards or vegetable-growing, each peasant household can dispose of five hectares of land. In view of our land and resources, we need about 20 million people to utilize them properly. On the other hand, at this moment when a devastating war was brought to an end not long ago, we are in dire need of time and have to mobilize the energies of our whole nation and people so as to build up our country and raise our people's living standards as quickly as possible. In view of the foregoing, there is absolutely no need for us to encroach upon, annex or occupy one inch of land of any country, far or near. On the contrary, it is imperative for us to have a relationship of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity with countries far or near. Therefore, we have always sought to establish friendly relations with all countries far or near in the world. A proof of this is that shortly after our country won its

liberation in 1975, our Kampuchean delegations paid friendly visits to a number of countries.

We have also achieved positive initial results in the economic, social affairs, health, culture, education, scientific and technological and other fields of construction. We successfully fulfilled 80 per cent of the plan for grain production in 1976, which was three tons per hectare. This has given us enough food to solve the problem of feeding our people on an average of 312 kilogrammes of rice per capita and enabled us to begin exporting tens of thousands of tons of rice in 1977.

As for projects of farmland improvement and water conservancy in our country, the great mass movement to solve the problem of water conservancy surged forward on a grand and spectacular scale in the first half of 1977. There were built many large reservoirs, each with a storage capacity of one to two hundred million cubic metres of water in every zone, medium-sized reservoirs of 50 to 60 million cubic metres of water in every region, and small reservoirs of 5 to 10 million cubic metres of water in every district as well as dams of all sizes on dozens of rivers. Besides, we have also dug canals and irrigation ditches with a total length of several hundred kilometres. These projects can irrigate rice fields of about four hundred thousand hectares in all seasons, rainy or dry.

Industry and handicrafts have also witnessed rapid progress as we have consolidated and developed them in Phnom Penh as well as in the zones, regions, districts and co-operatives. A network of industry, large, medium-sized and small, and handicrafts is beginning to emerge in the whole country, which we will continue to consolidate and develop. We have been able to solve satisfactorily the problems of the livelihood of the people, which is continuing to improve as the supply of the grain is fully assured for everyone and the health conditions of the people become better and better. In 1977, the first year of the four-year plan for the eradication of malaria, we have already realized 70 to 80 per cent of our objectives. Other diseases, particularly diseases left over from the old society, have also been basically eliminated. There are only certain endemic diseases that remain to be combated. There is



a network of hospitals and pharmaceutical centres, in Phnom Penh and in the zones, regions, districts and co-operatives of the whole country. Each co-operative has its clinic and pharmaceutical establishment. On an average, for every hundred families in the co-operatives there is a clinic of 20 beds with three medical personnel with preliminary training and a shop for making herb medicine with three pharmacists. The herb medicine we make can satisfy 80 per cent of the needs of the country. We are striving to develop and improve more rapidly our system of hospitals and pharmaceutical establishments. We are endeavouring to improve the conditions of life and health of our people because we hope to increase our population to 15 to 20 million in the course of the next ten years and more.

We have likewise scored good results in the fields of culture and education. When the country was liberated in 1975, 75 per cent of the peasants in the countryside and 60 per cent of the working people in the cities were illiterate. Now, we have wiped out illiteracy by 80 to 90 per cent, and are continuing the programme to quickly raise the cultural level of the people so as to enable them to read, write and calculate. Now our people, particularly tens of thousands of our young men and women, work in the many branches of science and technology. They study and at the same time serve the production movement directly. Before 1975, the number of our nationals who actually worked in the field of science and technology did not exceed 500. In addition, education in the field of politics—of revolutionary patriotism and revolutionary internationalism—has also made progress. Our people firmly stand on the side of the poor people of the world and on the side of the revolutionary movement in the world. We have clearly distinguished between friends and enemies of our country and people as well as between friends and enemies of the revolution for national and people's liberation in the world. Social blemishes and the depraved culture, debauchery, brigandage, crimes and other decadent phenomena in the age of imperialism, colonialism and other exploiting classes have been basically abolished by the great mass movement in our country.

At the same time, we have further achieved good results too in the international arena. We have more and more friends, far and near, on the five continents, who have come to increasingly understand our revolution and to support us. We will for ever stand firmly by the people of the world. We will resolutely remain in the community of the non-aligned movement.

The above-mentioned victories clearly prove that, under the correct leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea, there are good unity and solidarity within the ranks of our entire people and our entire revolutionary army. The revolution is being waged by the masses. Only with a great united revolutionary mass movement can the revolution win victory; without a revolutionary mass movement, the revolution will fail. It would have been impossible for us to score such excellent successes had the entire Kampuchean people and the entire Kampuchean Revolutionary Army not made revolution vigorously, independently and self-reliantly under the leadership of our Communist Party of Kampuchea. And it would have been impossible for us to defend and build up our country, solve the problem of livelihood of the people or win the approval of foreign friends, far and near. Our victories were also won with all kinds of support and assistance from the people all over the world and from friends on the five continents. We would like to take this opportunity to express solemnly once again our sincerest and deepest gratitude.

Comrades and friends,

Under the leadership of our two Parties, the peoples of China and Kampuchea have consolidated and developed our sincerest co-operation of mutual assistance and our great militant unity and our solid fraternal revolutionary friendship based on the principles of genuine mutual respect for sovereignty and equality. On the other hand, our co-operation, mutual assistance, great militant unity and fraternal revolutionary friendship have stood historic tests in the protracted revolutionary struggle against our common enemy; especially, our two Parties, two governments and two peoples have maintained a fundamentally identical, correct Marxist-Leninist stand. There exists a most profound fraternal revolutionary friendship between the Parties, governments and peoples

of our two countries. Ordinary peasants in our country always say, "We love those who are friendly to us and we loathe those who are unfriendly. Revolutionary friendship is not determined by material things. Pure and noble revolutionary sentiments towards each other, alone, constitute a firm and everlasting revolutionary friendship." We Kampuchean people cherish a deep love for the fraternal Chinese people. The joys and sorrows of the Chinese people are our joys and sorrows; the victories of the Chinese people are our victories. We are determined to work hard to protect, consolidate and develop this great militant unity and this fraternal revolutionary friendship, so that they may last for ever.

In the period of our revolutionary war for national liberation and after nationwide liberation, we Kampuchean people were given wholehearted, unconditional and all-round support and assistance by Chairman Mao Tsetung, Comrade Chou En-lai, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and people who are our comrades-in-arms. Now, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Government and people, maintaining a pure spirit of proletarian internationalism, continue to give us unconditional support and assistance of various kinds, which enable us to stand on our own feet even better. For this, we once again express our deepest gratitude.

Comrades and friends,

The present visit of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea provides an excellent opportunity for an exchange of views between our two Parties on issues of common interest to our Parties and peoples. It coincides with the moment when our Communist Party of Kampuchea commemorates its 17th anniversary and solemnly made public its existence, after having led the glorious Kampuchean revolution to its great and historic victory. It also coincides with the fraternal Chinese people's celebration of the great success of the 11th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and the ceremonious commemoration of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the

glorious People's Republic of China — the first National Day after Comrade Hua Kuo-feng became Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. With equal revolutionary pride, the peoples of China and Kampuchea jointly celebrate these happy occasions.

We are convinced that the current visit of the Kampuchean Party and Government Delegation will consolidate and develop the great militant unity and revolutionary fraternal friendship between the Parties and the peoples of Kampuchea and China, making them develop continuously and flourish for ever on the sacred basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

With these heart-stirring sentiments, we request our comrades and friends to raise their glasses and drink

to the great militant unity and revolutionary fraternal friendship between the Parties and peoples of Kampuchea and China,

to new and greater victories won by the great Communist Party of China and the Chinese people under the guidance of the brilliant line of Mao Tsetung Thought,

to the prosperity of the People's Republic of China,

to the health and long life of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng,

to the health of Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying,

to the health of Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping,

to the health of Vice-Chairman Li Hsien-nien, and

to the health of Vice-Chairman Wang Tung-hsing,

to the health of the other leading Chinese comrades,

to the health of the heads of diplomatic missions and their wives present, and

to the health of all comrades present here!

# Speech by Huang Hua, Chairman Of Chinese Delegation

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*Following is the full text of the speech made by Huang Hua, Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China and Chinese Foreign Minister, at the plenary meeting of the 32nd Session of the U.N. General Assembly on the afternoon of September 29:*

Mr. President,

I would like to begin my speech by congratulating Your Excellency Mr. Lazar Mojsov on your election as President of the current session of the General Assembly. I would also like to take this opportunity to extend warm congratulations to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has made a major contribution to the anti-imperialist cause of the people of the world, and to the Republic of Djibouti, which has won independence after waging a protracted struggle, on their admission to membership in the United Nations, and sincerely wish them new successes along their road of advance.

Mr. President,

The Delegation of the People's Republic of China has come to attend this session of the General Assembly shortly after the successful 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. Our country is now at an important juncture in history when we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future. Here I would like first of all to speak on developments in China.

Nineteen seventy-six was no ordinary year for China. We lost our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung and his long-tested, close comrades-in-arms, our respected and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu

Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Their passing away was a loss beyond measure to our Party and country, and our entire people were plunged in immense grief. In the same year, our country was hit by earthquakes and other severe natural calamities. Just when our people were faced with these grave difficulties, the counter-revolutionary "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan frenziedly stepped up their conspiratorial activities in a vain attempt to usurp supreme leadership in our Party and state. For a time dark clouds hung heavily over China. The Chinese people were worried about the fate of our Party and country, about whether we could continue to advance along the course charted by Chairman Mao. Our friends abroad also felt anxiety for us. A handful of enemies at home and abroad, however, gloated over our difficulties and hoped that our country would henceforth be thrown into a state of chaos and division and that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies would no longer be followed. When Chairman Mao was still with us, he had been aware of the "gang of four" problem. He waged repeated struggles against them and personally chose Chairman Hua Kuo-feng to be his successor so as to forestall their usurpation of Party and state power. After he passed away and at the critical moment when the "gang of four" attempted to seize the chance to take action, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua followed Chairman Mao's behest, acted on his directives and decisions and smashed this cabal at one blow, thus saving our country from a bloodbath and a major retrogression. The long-steed Communist Party and people of China stood the rigorous test and won a great victory. The Chinese people were



rejoiced, and our foreign friends were happy for our sake.

At present, the situation in China is excellent. We again have a wise leader in Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. Our Party is more united, more unified and stronger than ever. People's democracy in China is being given full play. Our people's enthusiasm for socialism has never been so high. The dictatorship of the proletariat is more firmly consolidated. The mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has speeded up the rehabilitation and expansion of industrial and agricultural production. A new leap forward is taking shape in the national economy.

The 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China was a great milestone in the history of our Party, and it was a congress of great, historic significance and far-reaching influence. The congress stressed that the banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of victory of the Chinese people's revolution. The Chinese people are determined to rally closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, for ever hold aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to his theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and steadfastly implement his revolutionary line in domestic and external work. We are determined to work hard for the realization of the strategic decision of

grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, turn China into a powerful modern socialist country by the end of the century and make a greater contribution to humanity. We are confident of surmounting all difficulties and obstacles on our road of advance. Our cause is just. Our line is correct. Our goal must be attained. Our goal can unquestionably be attained.

Mr. President,

We are happy to see that the international situation is also excellent. All the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening, and the factors for revolution continue to grow. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become the irresistible historical trend. The international united front against hegemonism, against the superpower policies of aggression and war, is broadening.

Over the past year, the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat, the liberation struggles of the oppressed people and nations and the revolutionary mass movements in many countries have continued to surge forward. The Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country has won more popular support. The people of Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos, after winning great victories in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, are actively consolidating their victorious gains and working hard for their countries' reconstruction. The people of the Southeast Asian and South Asian countries, upholding independence and sovereignty, have repeatedly frustrated superpower schemes of interference, control and expansion. The "Asian collective security system" so energetically hawked by a superpower has been rejected or opposed by virtually all Asian countries. The Arab and Palestinian people's struggle against Israeli Zionism and superpower hegemonism is deepening. The people in southern Africa have risen in a new upsurge of struggle against colonialism and racism. The people of Panama, with the support of the people in other Latin American countries, have achieved important results in their struggle for the recovery of the Panama Canal. The people of the Asian, African, Latin American and Oceanian countries have won a

number of new victories in their struggle to win or safeguard national independence and defend state sovereignty. The numerous developing countries have carried on an unremitting struggle against the superpowers in order to establish a new international economic order and defend their national economic rights and interests and their maritime rights. The third world countries and people, who support and encourage one another and fight in unity and co-operation, have played an increasingly remarkable role as the main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. Faced with the growing superpower menace, the countries of the second world in Western Europe and other regions have shown a stronger tendency towards unity against hegemonism. The mass movement of the Japanese people for the recovery of the four northern islands is sweeping across the land. The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, which stand opposed to the people of the world, are beset with difficulties and crises at home and abroad. They find the going tougher and tougher. Social-imperialism, in particular, has suffered heavy blows one after another as its aggressive and expansionist features are further revealed. The international situation as a whole continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to the superpowers.

The situation in the Middle East is a question of concern to the entire world. During the past year, the Arab and Palestinian people have more closely combined their struggle against Zionism with the struggle against superpower hegemonism. Social-imperialism's despicable practice of betrayal and control under the camouflage of support and aid has been opposed by a growing number of Arab countries and people. The Egyptian Government and people have resolutely resisted social-imperialism's political blackmail and economic pressure and safeguarded their state sovereignty and national dignity. The Eighth Arab Summit Conference of last October reached agreement on ending the civil war in Lebanon and strengthening Arab unity, thus frustrating another attempt of the superpowers to sow discord and split the Arab ranks. While each superpower tries to out-clamour the other for an overall settlement of the Middle East question, they are in fact still

attempting to maintain the unsettled state of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East. They are afraid of the emergence of a strong and united Arab world, of a stable and prosperous Middle East. Driven by the needs of their respective global strategies, they both seek to control the Middle East. Using different ways and tactics, both of them are supporting and abetting the Israeli Zionists and bringing all kinds of pressure to bear on the Arab countries and the Palestinian people. That is why the Israeli Zionists are so obdurate and so insolent. The situation in the Middle East will remain tense and complicated, pregnant with the danger of new military conflicts. But no one can shake the resolve of the Arab and Palestinian people to recover their sacred territories and regain their national rights. Supported by the people of the whole world, their just struggle will be crowned with final victory.

The developments in Africa are particularly encouraging. New victories have been won steadily by the great African people in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism. The government and people of the Sudan foiled the subversive plots engineered by social-imperialism and expelled its military experts, dealing a heavy blow at its ambition of aggression and expansion. The people of Zaire, who are united as one against the common enemy and supported by fraternal African peoples, crushed the invasion of mercenary troops instigated by social-imperialism and safeguarded the independence and territorial integrity of their country. This victory, which greatly raised the morale of the African people and deflated the arrogance of the aggressors, sets an example of mutual support and joint resistance of African peoples against superpower aggression. In southern Africa, the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia have persisted in armed struggle against racism and for national liberation under arduous and complex conditions. The people of Azania have fought resolutely against apartheid despite brutal repressing, and the mass movement there keeps surging forward. People across the African continent voice strong solidarity for their brothers in southern Africa, whose heroic struggle also enjoys support from the people the world over. The reactionary Vorster and Smith

regimes are besieged on all sides and completely isolated.

In their protracted struggle, the African countries and people have come to appreciate more and more the importance of unity against the enemy. Although there exist differences of one kind or another between African countries, yet confronted with the enemy they have sought common ground on major issues while putting aside their minor differences and directed the main thrust of their attack against imperialism, colonialism and racism, and against superpower hegemonism in particular. This has been and will continue to be an important guarantee for the victories of the African people. The First Afro-Arab Summit Conference and the 14th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which were held earlier in March and July, stressed mutual aid and co-operation and the need to oppose foreign interference. They were a significant testimony to the strengthened unity of the 61 African and Arab countries with their more than 400 million people in fighting the common enemy. They were a positive contribution to the struggle of the African and Arab people and the entire third world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

The struggle of the African people will yet be protracted and arduous. Colonialism and racism are still putting up a last-ditch struggle. What is more serious, both superpowers have intensified their interference in African affairs. Owing to the importance of Africa's strategic location and its rich natural resources, each of them regards the control of this continent as an important part of its global strategy of gaining sway in Europe and dominating the world. Their rivalry in Africa is becoming fiercer. One superpower seeks to preserve and expand its vested interests and influence in Africa. It obdurately supports the forces of colonialism and racism in southern Africa and tries to undermine the liberation struggles of the people there. The other superpower, flaunting the banner of opposing imperialism and colonialism and supporting the national-liberation movement to fool people, has stepped up its infiltration and expansion in Africa. It is exploiting some differences between African countries and

between liberation organizations and utilizing some problems left over from the days of colonial rule to sow discord, incite trouble and fish in muddied waters. Against those African countries which dare to resist and oppose its hegemonic behaviour, this superpower has resorted to brazen and unscrupulous subversion and interference and gone so far as to organize and send mercenary troops for outright military invasion, which poses a grave threat to the security and independence of these countries. Many African countries are worried lest what happened in Angola and Zaire yesterday may befall themselves tomorrow. Facts eloquently show that the rivalry between the superpowers is the main source of unrest and turbulence in Africa, and that the superpower which styles itself a "natural ally" of the African people has become their most sinister and ferocious enemy. The African countries and people are indeed faced with the trying task of "rebuffing the tiger at the back door while repelling the wolf at the front gate." However, a great change has taken place in Africa. The great African people have stood up, they will never tolerate any foreign force of aggression lording it over them again. It is our conviction that the African people, persisting in unity and struggle against the common enemy, will frustrate all superpower schemes and demolish the last bastions of colonialism and racism in Africa, thereby winning complete independence and liberation for the whole of Africa.

Mr. President,

A question the people of the world are interested in and think about today is whether the world situation is more tense or more relaxed, whether the danger of war is greater or less. A superpower claims that the danger of war has "considerably reduced." This is sheer deceptive talk. The stark reality is that the world situation has not relaxed, and that the factors for war are visibly growing. In their scramble for hegemony, both superpowers are intensifying their arms expansion and war preparations. Their rivalry extends to every corner of the world. They are carrying out aggression and expansion far and wide, each cutting ground from under the other's feet and striving to weaken and gain advantage over the other. Because of its political, economic and strategic importance, Europe is strategically the



focus of rivalry between the two hegemonic powers, where they are locked in acute military confrontation. The two antagonistic military blocs keep increasing their troops and armaments and redeploying their forces and are frequently conducting large-scale military exercises. The war machine of each superpower has expanded to unprecedented proportions. The superpowers are the source of a new world war. This is an iron-clad fact which no one can cover up.

It must be pointed out in particular that social-imperialism presents the greater danger. Judging from the current overall picture of the rivalry between the two hegemonic powers, the United States is on the defensive, while the Soviet Union is on the offensive. Social-imperialism is exerting its utmost to carry out all-round arms expansion. It surpassed the United States in conventional armed forces long ago and is striving for overall supremacy in nuclear weapons as well. It has expanded its navy on a massive scale, and its fleets are active on all seas. It wants to grab the whole of Europe, Asia and Africa. It not only maintains a posture of readiness to break through at the centre in Europe, but strives to create a situation in which it can outflank Europe from the north and the south. It is accelerating its plunder of strategic resources and control of strategic areas in Africa and the Middle East and seeks to seize the Persian Gulf in the east, block the strategic routes of the Atlantic Ocean in the west and thrust round the Cape of Good Hope in the south. The ambitions of the new tsars far exceed those of the old tsars.

There are profound political and economic reasons why social-imperialism has become the most dangerous source of war. Being a late-comer among the imperialist powers, it is more aggressive and adventurous. Owing to its relatively inadequate economic strength, it cannot but rely to a greater extent on military strength and threats of war in pursuing expansion. Its highly concentrated state-monopoly capitalist economy and its political regime of fascist dictatorship make it easier to militarize its national economy and state apparatus. Besides, it flaunts the banner of "socialism," which can deceive people to a certain extent, and this also makes it more dangerous.

Lenin said, **"An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony."** Chairman Mao said, **"The United States wants to protect its interests in the world and the Soviet Union wants to expand; this can in no way be changed. In the era in which classes exist, war is an interval between one peace and another. War is a continuation of politics, that is to say, a continuation of peace. Peace itself is politics."** The continuation of fierce contention between the two superpowers is bound to lead to a world war some day. This is independent of man's will.

More and more people have recognized that the factors for war are visibly growing and that social-imperialism is the most dangerous source of war. They advocate the strengthening of unity, of defence capabilities and of preparedness against war. But it must not be overlooked that there is still a strong trend towards appeasement in the West. Some people hope that temporary ease can be gained by making compromises and concessions. They imagine that they can restrain social-imperialism by signing agreements and expanding economic exchanges with it and by giving it loans. Some even seek to divert this peril towards the East in order to preserve themselves at the expense of others. Historical experience tells us that all aggressors bully the soft and fear the tough and always reach out for a yard after taking an inch. Like rearing a tiger to one's ultimate detriment, a policy of appeasement will simply encourage aggression and hasten the outbreak of war. To follow in Neville Chamberlain's footsteps means courting self-destruction. We must not forget the tragic lesson of Munich.

It is understandable that people are interested in the question of disarmament when the superpowers are stepping up their rivalry and their arms expansion and war preparations and when the danger of a world war is growing. But the superpowers are playing up disarmament as something miraculous. In particular, the superpower that most vociferously preaches "peace" dishes up some sort of disarmament proposal every year and describes disarmament virtually as a panacea which will dispel the danger of war, ensure a lasting peace and rid

the world of poverty. This is sheer deception. Since the superpowers are bent on aggression and expansion and are scrambling for world hegemony, they are bound to expand their armaments and go to war. They will never lay down their knives, nor beat the swords into ploughshares. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva has been going on for 16 years, yet neither superpower has reduced its armaments by a single gun. The strategic arms limitation talks have been going on for eight years, yet strategic arms have kept growing in number. The conference on mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe has entered its fourth year, yet the armaments deployed by the superpowers in Central Europe have continued to increase, and there are endless wrangling and differences even over the exact number of troops maintained by the Warsaw Pact countries in this region. It is very clear that the superpowers are prating about disarmament and peace only to cover up their arms expansion and war preparations. They are just using people's desire for peace to lull the people with false hopes so that it may be easier for them to launch a war some day and realize their wild ambition of conquering the world.

Our attitude with regard to a world war is, **"First, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it."** The people of the world want peace, and the Chinese people also want a peaceful international environment in which they may better build up their country. It is the superpowers and not the Chinese people and the people of the world who want war. Some people say that in repeatedly stressing the danger of a world war, China is raising a false alarm and that it is warlike and wants to provoke a world war. This is vile slander. All we have done is to call a spade a spade so that the people will be on the alert and oppose the unleashing of a new world war by the superpowers. And when we say we are not afraid of war, it means still less that we like it, but because to be afraid gets us nowhere. The superpowers are bent on fighting a war. What is the use of being afraid? Actually, the superpowers are not so terrifying. They look strong like real tigers. But, as Chairman Mao pointed out, **"Imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be**

**seen for what they are — paper tigers."** Social-imperialism has wild ambitions. But it finds little political support, and its economy is lopsided. There is a sharpening contradiction between its ruling clique and the broad masses as well as mounting discontent among the oppressed minority nationalities at home. Its "community," which is a colonial setup, is very unstable and shows a growing centrifugal tendency. Pursuing aggression and expansion everywhere, social-imperialism has set itself against the people of all countries, and this in itself dooms it to defeat. So long as the people of all countries unite and form themselves into a mighty army against hegemonism, heighten their vigilance, get prepared and persevere in struggle, they may be able to put off the war; and in case it does break out, they will find themselves in a favourable position to abolish unjust war by means of a just war against aggression and win genuine peace. We are revolutionary optimists. We are convinced that the human race will abolish war and not be destroyed by it.

Mr. President,

Developments on the international scene have proved that Chairman Mao's thesis differentiating the three worlds, which he set forth in 1974, conforms to the political realities of the contemporary world and is in the fundamental interests of the people the world over. Back in 1926 he stressed, **"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution."** Chairman Mao advanced his thesis differentiating the three worlds after he had observed and studied for years the development and changes of the basic contradictions and the division and realignment of the political forces in the world since the 1960s, as well as the political and economic position of each country internationally. The great significance of this thesis lies in the fact that it provides the people of the world with a powerful ideological instrument with which to identify the main revolutionary forces, the chief enemies, and the middle forces that can be won over and united with in the international struggle of today. It thus enables the people of all countries to better mobilize all positive factors, unite with all the forces that can be united and isolate the main common enemy to the

maximum and deal them the heaviest blows. At present, the steady reinforcement of unity and co-operation of the third world, the growing tendency in the second world to unity against hegemonism and the broadening of the international united front against superpower hegemonism, in which the third world is the main force — all this testifies to the validity of Chairman Mao's thesis. Obviously, the broader the international united front against hegemonism and the more isolated the superpowers, the more favourable will it be to the struggle of the oppressed people and nations for liberation and to that of the people of all countries, particularly the third world countries, to win or safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and develop their national economy. On the other hand, every victory in the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries helps to weaken the superpowers, thwart their aggressive and expansionist ambitions, upset their war plans and deployments, and put off the outbreak of a new world war.

Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds is diametrically opposed to the superpowers' views on international relations. One superpower spreads the view that there is only one world, a so-called "interdependent" world. But in fact the different parts of the world are mutually contradictory as well as interrelated. The "interdependence" this superpower emphasizes has nothing in common with the international co-operation on an equal footing demanded by the many small and medium-sized countries. It wants to obliterate the actual contradiction between exploiter and exploited, between oppressor and oppressed and between aggressor and victim of aggression. It attempts thereby to preserve the outdated world order and wants all countries to be "dependent" on it. The other superpower ignores the fact that the socialist camp ceased to exist and the imperialist camp disintegrated long ago and asserts that the two camps still exist. Evidently, it wants even more to obliterate its acute contradiction with the people of the world, and with the people of the third world countries, in particular. By continuing to use the signboard "the socialist camp," it attempts to disguise its true nature of social-imperialism, enforce the doctrines of "limited sovereignty" and "international dictatorship" in its "community" so as

to preserve its neocolonial setup, and at the same time hoodwink the people and push its policies of aggression and expansion in the whole world. There is an essential similarity between the two views advanced by the two superpowers. Both want to prevent us the people of the world from distinguishing between our enemies, our friends and ourselves, so as to strengthen their positions in the rivalry for world hegemony and undermine the struggle of the world people against hegemonism.

Chairman Mao's strategic concept differentiating the three worlds explodes the fallacies spread by the superpowers and gives a correct orientation to the contemporary international struggle. This brilliant concept will demonstrate greater vitality with the passage of time.

Mr. President,

The revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs which were formulated by the Chinese people's great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung and creatively implemented by our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai have been and will continue to be the guideline for China's external work. At the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng solemnly declared that we will hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to proletarian internationalism and continue to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. We will strengthen our unity with the other socialist countries and with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, strengthen our unity with the other third world countries and ally with all countries subjected to the aggression, interference or threats of superpower hegemonism so as to form the broadest possible united front against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We will establish and develop relations with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We will strengthen our unity with all other genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations and carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre.

We have always held that all countries, big and small, should be equal. We are resolutely against big nations bullying small ones and strong nations oppressing weak ones. The affairs of a country should be managed by its own people; the affairs of a region should be managed by the countries in that region; the affairs of the whole world should be managed jointly by all countries.

China is a socialist country. China and the other third world countries share a common experience and face common fighting tasks. China belongs to the third world. We stand firmly together with the other developing countries and people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions. We firmly support them in their struggle to combat imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and to win or safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and develop their national economy. The non-aligned movement, an important force, has developed steadily and become stronger, and together with the other third world countries, it is playing a role of growing importance in international affairs. We firmly support the non-aligned countries in pursuing their non-aligned policy of independence, peace and neutrality and support them in opposing all foreign aggression and interference.

We firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country. The United Nations command must be dissolved. The armed forces of the United States and their equipment must be withdrawn immediately and totally from south Korea. The Pak Jung Hi clique in south Korea must stop all its provocations which create tensions. The Korean question should be resolved by the Korean people themselves free from any outside interference. Any act to delay and obstruct the reunification of Korea in the hope of perpetuating the division of Korea and creating "two Koreas" runs counter to the aspirations of the entire Korean people and will not be tolerated. The resolution for promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its 30th session should be implemented in earnest.

We firmly support the Arab and Palestinian people in their just struggle to recover their

lost territories and regain their national rights. We are firmly opposed to the rivalry for hegemony between the two superpowers in the Middle East and to Israel's policy of aggression. The provocative action of the present administration of Israel in establishing settlements on the West Bank of the Jordan River with a view to permanently occupying Arab territories must be strongly condemned. We reaffirm that we will have no dealings whatsoever with the Israeli Zionists.

We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against white racism and for national independence and liberation. We reaffirm that we will have no dealings whatsoever with the South African and Rhodesian racist regimes.

We firmly support the Latin American countries in their struggle to strengthen unity and co-operation and combat superpower hegemonism. We firmly support the Panamanian people in their valiant and protracted struggle for the recovery of the Panama Canal.

We firmly support the third world countries and people in their struggle against imperialist or social-imperialist exploitation and plunder, for the establishment of a new international economic order and in defence of their national economic rights and interests. The correct principles in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action adopted at the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly must be carried out. We support the series of reasonable proposals advanced by the developing countries, such as the establishment of an integrated programme for commodities and its common fund, the demand for a moratorium on and the reduction or cancellation of debt burdens, etc.

We support the second world countries and people in their struggle to oppose superpower control, intimidation and bullying and defend their security and national independence. We support their efforts to improve relations with third world countries on the basis of equality. We appreciate the efforts of the West European countries for unity against hegemonism. We firmly support the Japanese people in their

struggle for the recovery of the four northern islands.

We are for genuine disarmament and against sham disarmament. We have consistently stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. As the first step, all nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and in any circumstances, and in particular will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, and that they must dismantle all their nuclear bases on the territories of other countries and withdraw from abroad all their nuclear armed forces and nuclear weapons. We support the demands of the countries and people in the regions of the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea and in Southeast Asia, South Asia and Latin America for the establishment of peace zones, security zones and nuclear-free zones. We are strongly opposed to the superpowers' policies of nuclear blackmail and nuclear monopoly and to their disarmament fraud.

The Shanghai communique of 1972 is the basis for the relations between China and the United States at present. According to the spirit of the communique, if relations between the two countries are to be normalized, the United States must sever its so-called diplomatic relations with the Chiang clique, withdraw all its armed forces and military installations from Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait area and abrogate its so-called "mutual defence treaty" with the Chiang clique. Taiwan is China's sacred territory. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great undertaking of unifying our motherland. When and how to liberate Taiwan is entirely China's internal affair, which brooks no foreign interference whatsoever. The above is the unalterable stand of the Chinese Government.

Our controversy with the Soviet leading clique on matters of principle will go on for a long time. We will persevere in our tit-for-tat struggle against its hegemonism. At the same time, we have always held that China and the Soviet Union should maintain normal state

relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It is none other than the Soviet leading clique that has worsened the state relations between China and the Soviet Union. If the Soviet leaders really want to improve the state relations between the two countries, they should prove this by deeds.

We will always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching, **"Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony,"** and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to invade China. Our policy is, **"We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack."**

We will always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that in our external work we should **"get rid of great-nation chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely."** We will never seek hegemony or be a superpower. We will always stand by the oppressed people and nations throughout the world. On behalf of the Chinese Government, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping solemnly declared from this rostrum in April 1974 that if one day China should change her political colour and turn into a superpower, if she too should play the tyrant in the world, and everywhere subject others to her bullying, aggression and exploitation, the people of the world should identify her as social-imperialism, expose it, oppose it and work together with the Chinese people to overthrow it. Here, we the Chinese Delegation would like to reaffirm this stand.

Mr. President,

The world is advancing amidst turmoil; the people are awakening in the course of struggle. We are now in a new historical period — a period of struggle against superpower hegemonism. The struggle will be hard and the road tortuous, but the future is bright. **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** The people of the world have been tempered in great storms of struggle. They have gained experience, strengthened their unity and grown stronger. It is not the one or two superpowers but the people of the world that decide the destiny of mankind. Victory unquestionably belongs to the people of the world!

Thank you, Mr. President.

## Why the Three Ups and Downs

— A visit to the Kiangsi Tractor Plant

by Our Correspondents Tien San-sung and Chao Yi-ou

THE Kiangsi Tractor Plant in Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi Province, is one of China's major tractor-manufacturing enterprises. It had been paralysed for eight months when news of the heartening victory over the "gang of four" arrived in October last year; a few days later the machines started running again. Fifty tractors were produced in the latter half of October and output has since gone up steadily: November — 402, December — 606, and for the first half of this year, an average monthly output of 469. Such marked fluctuations had occurred twice before: One around 1973 and the other around 1975.

Figures for recent years are listed in the following table:

| Year              | Number of tractors |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1972              | 4,510              |
| 1973              | 5,520              |
| 1974              | 1,040              |
| 1975              | 2,110              |
| 1976              | 1,517              |
| January-June 1977 | 2,814              |

This table reflects the results of the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the plant over the last few years. After the plant came under the direct control of the "gang of four's" cohorts in Kiangsi Province, production reacted somewhat like a barometer to the unstable political situation in the province.

In the last few years, whenever Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was carried out well, output went up; it went down whenever Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was subjected to interference and sabotage. In 1973 production was pushed up precisely because Chairman Mao's directive on criticizing Lin Biao and

rectifying the style of work was implemented. In 1974 the "gang of four" took over the revolutionary slogan — Chairman Mao's call for criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius — to serve their own needs and their trusted followers in Kiangsi created chaos by ferreting out so-called "restorationist and retrogressive forces." Then the plant's output plummeted. In 1975 when the Kiangsi provincial Party committee launched a movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive and, combining the movement with the actual conditions in the province, grasped class struggle, the two-line struggle and production, the plant's output went up again. But as a result of the wanton attacks launched by the "gang of four's" factional setup in Kiangsi last year, the plant's output fell again.

### Conspirators in Action

The Kiangsi Tractor Plant was developed from a factory producing drainage and irrigation machines in 1958, the year of big leap forward in China's national economy. It now has 2,000 machine tools and equipment and about 5,000 workers and staff members. Its annual production capacity is 5,500.

The "gang of four's" confidants in Kiangsi resorted to the tactic of making the plant a base to throw the whole province into disarray. This was instigated by Wang Hung-wen. He said: "Wrecking a factory in a province is tantamount to placing a noose round the neck of the secretary of the provincial Party committee." Brandishing the "theory of the all-importance of the productive forces" as a bludgeon, they attacked the leading cadres who grasped revolution and promoted production. By inciting workers to stop work and production, they sought to paralyse the factories and



then shift the blame on to the provincial Party committee, their aim being to overthrow it and usurp its leadership. This involved a whole series of political conspiracies hatched by the "gang of four" and their agents.

These conspirators put on the most repulsive performances in 1976 at the Kiangsi Tractor Plant.

In view of the confusion in the plant in 1974, the Kiangsi provincial Party committee in 1975 instructed the Nanchang city Party committee to send a work team to the plant to set things in order. After its arrival at the plant in September, the work team mobilized the workers to criticize revisionism, capitalism and bourgeois factionalism, and grasp production. This brought about stability and unity and put an end to the state of stagnation into which production had lapsed. Output in the three months after the work team's arrival in 1975 made up half that year's total.

The "gang of four" stepped up their schemes to usurp Party and state leadership in 1976. Their henchmen in the plant mounted an attack on the work team in an attempt to drive it out and undermine the plant. They first put up big-character posters charging the work team with carrying out an entirely wrong political line. Then, gathering together some persons, they instigated them to beset it with repeated struggles. Team leader Comrade Liang Kai-hsuan was subjected to criticisms on 50 occasions, one of which lasted four days and three nights.

Thinking that Liang had been subdued, they dragged him to a meeting of the whole plant to confess his mistakes. But Liang declared at the meeting: "Whether the political line followed by the work team has been right or wrong should be judged by the people and a verdict on it should be passed by history. We welcome revolutionary big-character posters, but we are not afraid of counter-revolutionary ones. Even if the latter should cover the whole



The plant is now in full operation.

city of Nanchang or the whole country, to say nothing of the whole plant, they cannot bring us to our knees." His stand had the support of all the other members of the work team.

Frightened and infuriated by Liang's remarks, the gang's henchmen resorted to even viler accusations. Not yielding an inch, Liang unequivocally pointed out that these fellows were nothing but social scum no different from Lin Piao and company.

This accusation by Liang was well-grounded. The "gang of four's" men in Kiangsi, including those in this plant, had long been hatchetmen serving the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. After Lin's downfall, they weaseled through by making hypocritical self-criticisms during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work in 1973; and later, with a swivel, they threw themselves into the embrace of the "gang of four."

Liang was held in high respect by the workers for his heroic fighting spirit.

### **Back-to-Work vs. Stoppage**

The work team refused to be subdued or driven out. The "gang of four's" underlings then tried by hook or by crook to disrupt production. Guided by the work team, the vast

majority of workers confronted them with an acute struggle centring on the question of whether to stop or continue production. When the cadres met to discuss production and make arrangements, this pack of scoundrels would break into the meeting room; when the workers came to work, they would slam the factory doors in their faces. Some workers still managed to enter the workshops in spite of all these obstructions. The villains, however, forcibly dragged them away from the machine tools one by one. They incited the workers, saying: "With capitalism on its way back, what's the use of producing tractors?" They shouted themselves hoarse everywhere: "Don't produce for the capitalist-rovers!"

The workers rejected such trash. Veteran worker Chu Wen-hua argued: "Whether factories of a socialist country should produce and whether workers should work have become problems; doesn't it follow that the need to build socialism has also become a problem?" Some workers asked: "If it's a crime for workers to work for socialism, but it's all right for people to leave work, go around picking fights and sponge on socialism for a living, what kind of logic is that?"

Chu Wen-hua led some workers to come to the factory to carry on production at night but even this met with obstructions. Some rascals and hatchetmen were sent to the workshops to force a halt to production. And finally without any scruples, they cut off water, electricity and gas supplies. As a result, production in the plant came to a halt in March last year. This horde of shameless scoundrels justified themselves by saying: "One must not just consider economic achievements but must also look at the political results. Our political line is correct."

The indignant workers retorted: "Only Kuomintang reactionaries would say your political line is correct!" This was the conclusion drawn by the workers who had learnt to distinguish between the right and wrong political lines from their struggles in the previous few years.

### **A Continuation of the Counter-Revolutionary Line**

The political line pushed by the "gang of four" in this plant was a continuation of the

one pushed there by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. In 1971 the clique's followers in Kiangsi issued an order to the plant terminating the production of *Fengshou-27* tractors for paddy-fields. They arbitrarily decided to appropriate for other use the investments and equipment allotted by the state for expanding the enterprise into one with an annual capacity of 10,000. This inflicted a great loss in production and thwarted that year's plan to expand its production capacity.

In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in 1974, the same scoundrels followed the "gang of four" in their efforts to ferret out so-called restorationists. They picked out Comrade Chao Chih-chien, vice-chairman of the plant's revolutionary committee and a deputy chief engineer of worker origin, as a representative of the restorationist forces and struggled against him for several months running. In 1973 Chao led the workers to carry out technical innovations which led to a big increase in output. But this was slanderously dubbed a "typical instance of applying the theory of the all-importance of the productive forces." Moreover, these scoundrels, securing a foothold in the plant, incited some people to engage in a series of fightings. A few workshops were turned into barracks and the plant was operating at only half capacity between early 1974 and August 1975.

The struggle carried out last year brought an eight months' production stoppage.

After the "gang of four" was toppled, the Kiangsi Tractor Plant, under the leadership of the provincial Party committee, carried out the instructions of Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee, mobilized the masses to expose and criticize the gang and before long laid bare its counter-revolutionary conspiracies in the plant. The plant's leading group led the masses in studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works. This armed them ideologically for exposing the gang's sham revolutionary slogans spread in order to mislead the people. Workers and cadres of the plant are determined to fulfil their plan for expanding the factory with an annual capacity of 10,000 next year and build it into a Taching-type enterprise.

# The 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China Greeted

THE 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Peking from August 12 to 18. After the closing of the congress, Marxist-Leninist political parties and organizations, progressive groups and well-known personages in a number of countries and regions sent messages or letters of greetings.

Below is the follow-up of the list of the senders carried in *Peking Review* No. 39 in order of the dates on which the messages or letters were published in *Renmin Ribao*.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Paraguay

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru

Secretary Walter Lindner of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Austria

General Secretary Giuseppe Burgani of the Communist Organization (Marxist-Leninist) of Italy

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines

The Central Committee of the Labourers' Movement for Socialism of Italy

The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece

The Political Bureau of Belgian Organization "All Power to the Workers (AMADA)"

The Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Greece

Milo Miles on behalf of the Central Committee and all members of the Youth Forces for National Liberation of Jamaica

The Communist Party of India (M-L)

The Workers' Union for Reconstruction of the Communist Party of Germany

The Central Committee of the League of Marxist-Leninists of the Netherlands

The Central Committee of the Communist Workers' Organization of the Netherlands

The Central Committee of the Breda Communist Group (Marxist-Leninist) of the Netherlands

The Anzoategui Socialist League of Venezuela

The Eastern Publishing House of Italy

The Mao Tsetung Thought Institute of Japan

Uehara Nobuo, Secretary-General of the China Research Institute of Japan

Jacques Chirac, Mayor of Paris

Djawoto, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association

Well-known Japanese personages Aiichiro Fujiyama, Yoshikatsu Takeiri, Tadashi Yaoita, Hosai Hyuga, Chojuro Kawarazaki and Shizue Kawarazaki.

# ON THE HOME FRONT

## ***New Coal Shafts***

**I**N the first eight months and a half of this year, China built 21 pairs of coal shafts which have already gone into production. Nine of them have each a production capacity of over 300,000 tons per year. The combined annual production capacity of all these new shafts exceeds 5 million tons.

About half of the shafts are located in the south where coal output lags behind the demand. This helps rationalize the geographical distribution of China's coal industry and change the situation in which huge amounts of coal have to be transported south from the north.

The equipment of the new coal shafts was designed and manufactured in China.

## ***Petroleum Industry Keeps Advancing***

**A**NOTHER group of high-yield oil and gas wells have been put into production in China while a number of oil and gas fields are being opened up and developed.

This year's first eight months saw an increase of 10 per cent in our country's crude oil output and 24 per cent in gas, compared with the corresponding period last year. A number of plants producing equipment for the petroleum industry have overfulfilled their production plans. Meanwhile scientific and technical personnel have introduced some new techniques and technological processes of world levels.

In the last few months, our geological prospectors discovered indications of new oil and gas sources in some areas in the northwest, southwest and north China and off the coast. Their discoveries further verify



Working at a new oilfield.

China's unique theory of petroleum geology developed by our scientists. New deposits have also been located in the existing oilfields of Taching, Yumen, Shengli and in Szechuan Province.

All this marks a good beginning for the opening up of some ten more large oilfields like Taching before the end of this century in response to Chairman Hua's call.

## ***Electric Railway Line***

**C**HINA'S second electric railway line has been opened to traffic in northwest China's Shensi Province.

This 356-kilometre-long railway links Yangpingkuan on the Paoki-Chengtu Railway in the west with southern Shensi Province's Ankang in the east. It runs through a complicated terrain of rugged mountain ranges sliced by ravines and spans 27 rivers. The tunnels and bridges make up 26 per cent of the total length.

Construction started in 1969 and the tracklaying was finished in October 1972. Steam locomotives had been used before electrification was completed. The project of electrifying the railway began in September 1973. But work was soon held up as a result of the "gang of four's" sabotage of railway construction and transport. Only after the downfall of the gang could the project proceed without a hitch. The electric railway was opened to traffic at the end of last June.

The country's first electric line, the Paoki-Chengtu Railway, was completed in 1975.

## ***More Modern Airports***

**S**OME of China's big cities are constructing or expanding modern airports which can accommodate various types of aircraft.

A 3,200-metre-long, 50-metre-wide runway close to and parallel with the old one has been completed at the Peking Airport. The old runway now in use will be rebuilt into a 3,800-metre-long, 60-metre-wide

one. And the airport will be equipped with closed circuit television for surveillance and control.

The framework of a terminal building for international airliners has already been erected. The building is 200 metres long and 66 metres wide, with a total floor space of 54,500 square metres. The foundation has also been laid for two parking ramps each capable of accommodating eight large planes.

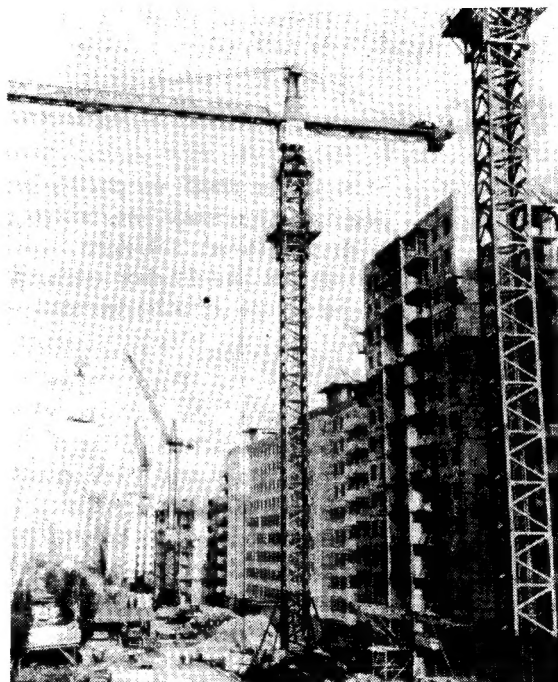
Construction of new airports is now under way in Hefei, Tientsin and Harbin, while in Shanghai, Kwangchow, Hangchow and Urumchi the airports have been expanded and are already in use.

Today China has a domestic aviation network of more than 100 lines totalling 147,000 kilometres in length. With Peking as its centre, the network knits together 80 or so Chinese cities.

China has commissioned nine international airlines, bringing the total length up to 40,000 kilometres from 3,000. Aviation contracts have been concluded with some 30 countries and agency relations set up with more than 100 foreign aviation companies.

### ***Housing Projects In Peking***

**T**HIRTY-FOUR buildings 10 to 15 storeys high are going up simultaneously along a five-kilometre-long thoroughfare in Peking. This thoroughfare was laid a few years ago on the site of the ancient city wall which had been demolished. It runs parallel to Changan Boulevard



**New housing project in Peking.**

and past the southern edge of Tien An Men Square.

Groups of multi-storey buildings are also under construction in the southeastern and north-eastern sections of the city, and close to the Shoutu Iron and Steel Company, the Peking General Petrochemical Works, the "February 7" Rolling Stock Plant and other big plants in the suburbs.

The housing projects completed or under construction this year have a total floor space of 2 million square metres. They will provide 40,000 families or 200,000 people with new homes.

When completed the buildings will be allocated by the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee to factories, government organs and schools to be divided among their workers and staff members. Some will be allocated to those whose old houses will be pulled down to give way to

new projects as part of the city renewal programme.

Each dwelling unit in the above-mentioned 34 buildings will have one to three bedrooms, with kitchen, toilet and balcony and central heating and gas. There will be signal-controlled elevators.

Stores and schools will be built near all the apartment buildings. There will also be street gardens and multiple road interchanges at places where the traffic is heavy.

Since the founding of New China in 1949, Peking has constructed more than 150 new residential areas, big and small, covering a total building space 2.7 times that of pre-liberation days.

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**CORRECTION:** In our last issue, in the 16th line from the bottom in the middle column on page 5, for "from September 1 to 20" read "from September 12 to 20."

# ROUND THE WORLD

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA

### 17 Militant Years

A grand meeting attended by more than 10,000 people was held in Phnom Penh, capital of Democratic Kampuchea, on September 27 to warmly celebrate the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. At the meeting, Pol Pot, Secretary of the C.P.K. Central Committee, delivered an important speech formally announcing the Party's existence to the country and the world.

Even before the founding of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, a committee had been set up in 1957 to formulate the Party's line and policies. The First National Congress of the Communist Party of Kampuchea held in Phnom Penh from September 28 to 30 in 1960 examined and adopted the draft of the Party's line. A Marxist-Leninist political party, the Communist Party of Kampuchea thus came into being. This was a turning point in the history of the Kampuchean revolution and the Kampuchean working class.

After the founding of the Party, in the spirit of independence and self-reliance and in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles and the concrete Kampuchean social conditions, the Party put forward its political and ideological line and the tasks of the revolution — concentrate the forces of the whole nation to strike at imperialism,

U.S. imperialism in particular, win independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and overthrow the feudal landlords and their exploitative system.

The principles of struggle laid down by the Party were to boldly arouse the masses, bring the positive factors of the masses into play and concentrate the forces of all nationalities in the country so as to accomplish the tasks of the revolution. The Kampuchean revolutionaries launched struggles both in the countryside and cities, but took the countryside as their base area. Their struggles took both open and clandestine forms but were based on the latter. They unfolded illegal and legal struggles but with the former as the foundation. Above all they emphasized violent struggle. They launched violent political struggles and violent armed struggles but took the latter as the main form.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea led the Kampuchean army and people in taking five years and one month to defeat the U.S. aggressors, overthrow the reactionary rule of the Lon Nol clique and win the people's national-liberation war. After nationwide liberation, the revolution entered a new stage. Under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people have defended the fruits of the revolution, the people's revolutionary power and Democratic Kampuchea. In 1976 they solved

the food problem, a fundamental question to the livelihood of the people.

## EGYPT

### Reschedules Military Debt

Egyptian President Sadat on September 28 announced that Egypt would postpone for 10 years the payment of its military debt to the Soviet Union and reschedule its trade debt to Moscow as well. The President said he had instructed Prime Minister Salem to tell the Kremlin during the forthcoming talks on a trade agreement between Egypt and the Soviet Union for 1978 that Egypt would reschedule the debts and propose to the Soviet side an instalment which Egypt could pay under its present economic conditions.

It was an established rule that repayment of military debts was deferred until the period of reconstruction was over, the President added.

During World War II, the Soviet Union received large quantities of war material worth 11,100 million U.S. dollars from the United States under the U.S. lend-lease act. In October 1972 the Soviet Union and the United States reached agreement that the former had only to repay 10 per cent of the debt in instalments before 2001. Since the Soviet Union can reschedule and reduce its military debt, Egypt naturally can do the same.

Moreover, present Egyptian economic difficulties to a large degree are due to Soviet extortion of Egyptian foreign exchanges and its inequitable trade



with Egypt. In addition to the heavy exploitation and plunder of Egypt, the Soviet Union has also made it pay dearly in other fields. For instance, the Kremlin for many years got military privileges whereby important Egyptian ports provided the Soviet Mediterranean fleet with various facilities. In short, the huge losses sustained by Egypt through Soviet plunder and control have long surpassed its debts to the Soviet Union. The Egyptian Government's decision is absolutely reasonable. It is a just act for the Egyptian people to defend their national independence and their country's existence and it is also a forceful indictment of Soviet social-imperialism.

#### AFRICA

### **Murder of Biko Condemned**

The Organization of African Unity, representatives of African countries at the United Nations, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania and black people and students throughout South Africa have recently protested and condemned, in statements or at rallies, the South African racist authorities for the murder of the black nationalist leader Steve Biko.

Twenty thousand black people from all parts of South Africa held a funeral service for Steve Biko in his home town of King William's on September 24. At the ceremony, Kenneth Rachidi, President of the Black People's Convention, denounced the racist South African authorities for murdering Steve Biko. Vice-Chairman of the South African Indian Council Farouk Meer noted that Biko's "death was caused by this beast apartheid."

He called on the people to strive for the violent overthrow of the white minority government and build a free Azania.

Biko, who was Honorary President of the Black People's Convention and had fought all his life against South African racist rule, was unlawfully arrested on August 18 this year and done to death during his detention in Pretoria. He was the 20th black person to die in a South African prison since March 1976.

The Organization of African Unity in its September 16 press release pointed out that such criminal acts as "murder of defenceless African leaders in South African prisons cannot stop the struggle for liberation of blacks from their bondage in South Africa." *Nigerian Observer* said in its September 23 editorial that "the murder of Biko must be seen as part of the systematic elimination of black South Africans." The Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania in its September 15 statement issued in Gaborone stressed that blood debts must be repaid in blood and only armed struggle can put an end to such premeditated annihilation of South African people. The statement called on the Azanian people to take up arms and carry on their fight.

In his speech at the memorial meeting held at the United Nations Headquarters on September 23, David M. Sibeko, speaking for the Pan-Africanist Congress, stated that by killing Biko, "the Vorster regime wishfully calculated that they were removing a burning thorn from their racist flesh. The regime is now confounded by the reality

that in his death Biko is looming larger than life."

#### BRAZIL

### **Four Military Agreements With U.S. Annulled**

The Brazilian Foreign Ministry on September 19 announced in a note the annulment of four military agreements with the United States.

The agreements annulled are: the May 7, 1942 agreement on setting up a U.S. naval mission in Brazil; the September 20, 1955 agreement on restructuring the Brazilian-U.S. mixed military commission; the January 27, 1967 agreement governing the use of U.S.-supplied armaments; and the June 2, 1952 agreement on U.S. participation in aerial mapping of Brazil.

The Brazilian Government pointed out that annulment of the first three agreements was the result of the abrogation on March 11, 1977 of the Brazilian-U.S. military assistance agreement signed on March 15, 1952 because the clauses of co-operation in the three agreements were directly tied to the 1952 agreement. The 1952 agreement was abrogated "in view of the alternations of U.S. legislation which placed unacceptable modifications on the terms for military co-operation between the two countries."

The Brazilian paper *O Correio* said in a signed article on September 20 that "the official note of the Brazilian Government announcing the termination of the military agreements with the U.S. is of significance in demonstrating an attitude of independence and defence of the legitimate national interests."

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